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THE ASIA MONTHLY

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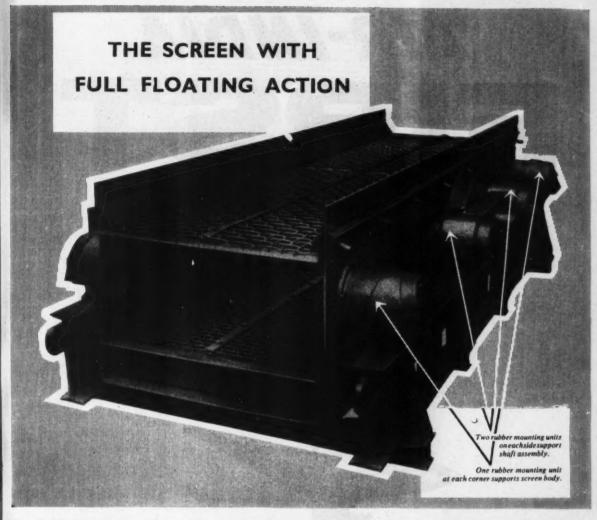


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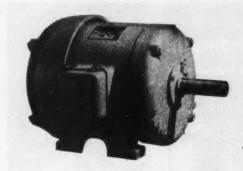
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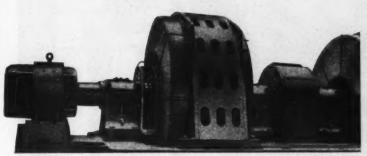
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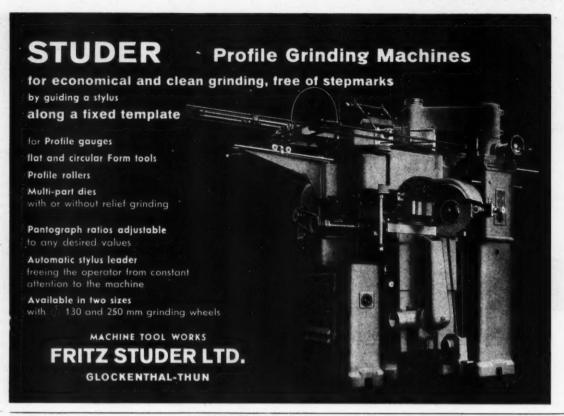
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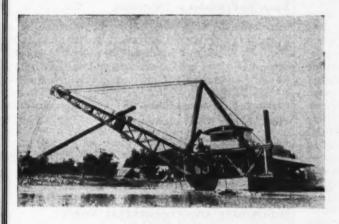
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August

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# **Neo-Communism**

EVERY day the world situation grows more enormously complex and fluid, and the governments in important capitals are baffled as to the direction of their state affairs. Even to make a list of important events from the newspaper headlines of the last few weeks gives one a sensation of nations and national ideas moving of their own accord. There is a momentum in favour of political independence and escape from the fear of war, which extends from Japan to Cuba, from Algeria to Congo and South Africa, from the summit failure in Paris last May to the declaration of the 12 Communist parties in Bucharest in June. We are at a stage of disequilibrium in world affairs, in which cold war potentialities have passed, but permanent peace is not yet safe. The present cries out for extensive reappraisals in every country.

The overriding pressures are for sustaining peace and economic progress, notwithstanding the many contradictory manifestations against peace—to name only one, Washington's apparent determination to hold down Cuba as its exclusive economic preserve, while Khrushchev threatens to let off rockets in support of Cuba, and in defence of Soviet air space against spying planes. It is in this context that the Bucharest declaration of the Communist parties last June, together with Mr. Khrushchev's elaboration of the new Communist policy, is a very big step forward in world affairs. We need to understand that Communism in theory and practice is in process of undergoing, and in part has already undergone, a fundamental change.

On June 21, Mr. Khrushchev in Bucharest said among other things:

This is a policy of coexistence, a policy of consolidating peace, easing international tension and doing away with the cold war.

The thesis that in our time war is not inevitable has a direct bearing on the policy of peaceful coexistence proclaimed at the 20th and 21st Congresses of our party. Lenin's propositions about imperialism remain in force and are still a lodestar in our theory and practice. But it should not be forgotten that Lenin's propositions on imperialism were advanced and developed decades ago, when the world did not know many things that are now decisive for historical development, for the entire international situation.

In this speech, Khrushchev with considerable temerity rejected some of Lenin's views on war and imperialism, so long cherished as the core of Communist theology. He went beyond a mere mechanical affirmation of the 20th and 21st Soviet Communist Party Congresses (1956 and 1957) and the Moscow Declaration (of 1957) of the Communist parties of the world. By qualifying Lenin's dicta on these points, he in fact cut the ground from under the feet of those who, quoting Lenin and bearing down with all the leaden weight of Communist orthodoxy, demanded tougher policies against the non-Communist world. Khrushchev was undoubtedly voicing deep and fundamental changes in outlook within his party, not mere surface fluctuations.

A large number of otherwise astute observers were quick to conclude that the Bucharest declaration signalled a Soviet victory over the Chinese. Henceforth, they said, China will be out of step with the rest of the Communist world unless it stops preaching that war is inevitable so long as imperialism survives—a lesson read pretty frequently in China for the last three years, with particular force in recent months. But China was not alone in objecting to a relaxation in international relations: there were Stalinists in every Communist party, including that of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev's new theory must be regarded as a victory for neo-Communism, which it is not unreasonable to suppose will influence the Chinese, too, to relax the rigidity of their attitude to the non-Communist world.

The differences between Moscow and Peking are important enough for both sides to show the great circumspection in speaking of them, as has been duly noted by foreign observers. But on no occasion have they presented any analogy with Russo-Yugoslav relations in 1948. Neither Russia nor China tried at any point to isolate the other from the rest of the Communist bloc. Their differences on ideological grounds arose from the trouble in Poland and Hungary in 1956. China retreated from her "hundred flowers" policy and generally adopted an uncompromising attitude.

The victims of China's orthodoxy have been numerous, among her own people too. The breakneck speed of industrialisation and the sudden uprooting of the people from their social environment and their organisation into

people's communes are a heavy price to pay. China has alarmed her neighbours to the South, and damaged the Bandung spirit, thus completing the only partial isolation the United States succeeded in producing for her at the United Nations. Yet even this never equalled the degree of isolation endured by the Soviet Union for so many years of its earlier existence.

Now that all the other Communist parties have accepted the new interpretation, China, too, will find it possible to dilute

the purism of her Leninist views on war and imperialism. There is even hope of a new phase of liberalism beginning in the Communist countries, as it did in the stage between Stalin's death and the Hungarian revolt. The second period of liberalisation is likely to survive and expand over a long period of time, taking into its scope all facets of life and thought, and in the process, making a significant contribution to the urgent task of stabilising the East-West détente that showed signs of beginning when Macmillan visited Moscow nearly two years ago.

## Comment

#### The Ong Revolt

THE People's Action Party Government of Singapore experienced last month some kind of revolt which might in the long run do the party serious damage (see p. 22). Mr. Ong Eng Guan, former mayor of Singapore and the PAP's enfant terrible who last year became Minister of National Development, had for some time been pressing for the adoption of a more militant socialist policy by the Government. His colleagues on the Central Executive Committee, interpreting his activities as a direct revolt against the leadership of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, have taken disciplinary action resulting in Mr. Ong's suspension as Minister. The severity of their attitude has been such that Mr. Ong's place in the party itself is uncertain. The incident has certainly been a big blow to the concept of collective leadership which the PAP had been advancing.

The conflict was perhaps inherent in the political situation existing on the island. The dilemma facing Singapore was suitably expressed by Mr. Lee Kuan Yew when he addressed this year's May Day rally. He said that although his Government was a socialist one, it was for the time being in the curious position of having to encourage investors, despite the classical theory that employers with capital exploited workers who had none. The Government had therefore to see not only that employers gave their workers a fair share of the fruits of their toil, but also that they should have a reasonable margin of profit, so that they could re-invest and expand. At the same time other capital must be attracted to come in and build factories. By saying this Mr. Lee showed political courage of a high order, because in the prevalent left-wing atmosphere of Singapore such remarks are not well received. Not having any resources of its own, and cut off from the Federation by the policies of the Tunku's Government, Singapore must industrialise on the lines of Hong Kong if it wishes to survive. Besides, jobs must be created for the large and growing number of unemployed citizens, the majority of whom are under 30, and intensely politically conscious. In order to create a proper climate for foreign investors Mr. Lee has tried to introduce political stability and efficiency, organised trade unionism, and good labour relations. He has also been aware of the need to bring home to the young and impatient electorate the economic facts of life for Singapore. Whether he has succeeded in this is another question; he has certainly failed with one of his own ministers.

Meanwhile external assistance will have to be found to finance Singapore's new Five-Year Plan. Mr. Goh Keng Swee, the Finance Minister, is hoping that London and Washington (including the World Bank) will between them provide loans amounting to a quarter of the total sum of nearly £113,000,000 which is needed for public capital investment. The balance, it appears, will have to come from within Singapore itself. The needs of the island are formidable, and if aid from the West is not forthcoming, pressure will increase locally for accepting a reported Soviet offer. It is not yet clear what the Russian offer amounts to. There exist at the moment constitutional and other difficulties which might prevent Mr. Lee from negotiating directly with the Russians. The attitude of Malaya has to be considered no less than that of Britain. Both these countries are represented on the Internal Security Council, and Malaya's withdrawal from it would lead to the suspension of the present constitution granting internal selfgovernment to Singapore.

Mr. Lee therefore is in a very difficult situation, and the Ong revolt has embarassed him further. If political instability should return to the island, or if Mr. Ong should emerge as the leader of the dissident left-wing of the PAP, Mr. Lee's hopes of attracting private capital would become slim. Hence the stern action taken against the rebel. The point at issue is simply the old one of whether Singapore can be fully independent or not. How much support Mr. Ong's new anticolonial revolt will receive is not yet clear. If Mr. Lee can carry the majority of the electorate with him in accepting the present limitations inherent in Singapore's situation, he will

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succeed. A great deal now depends on Mr. Lim Chin Siong, former left-wing leader who was released from prison by Mr. Lee's Government. He has been given some trade union responsibilities, but no political power; if he continues to give tacit support to the Government, Mr. Lee and his policies might yet survive.

#### **Tunku's Non-political Association**

ALAYA, Thailand and the Philippines agreed a couple of months ago to set up a non-political association of the South-Eastern Asian countries, and as a preliminary step will in the near future form a working committee. The plan was first mooted over a year ago by Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, and formally announced in a joint communiqué in Manila in January 1959 by the Malayan Prime Minister and the President of the Philippines. It was not till last April, however, that the Tunku sent out his special envoy, Mohamed Sopiee, to Manila and Bangkok to make a start with the project. The three states concerned do not seem to be discouraged by the fact that no other state of the region has yet consented to join them.

The Chinese denunciation of the plan as an offshoot of SEATO was not unexpected by the Tunku, and when it came, he shrugged it off. India expressed no opinion, officially or otherwise. In any case neither China nor India were invited or expected to join. The sponsor countries had hoped that Burma, Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam and Indonesia would join them in promoting the economic and cultural well-being of their total population—some 200 million people inhabiting an area of 1.5 million square miles. The Indonesians (90 million) and the Burmese (20 million) have refused the invitation, and the others appear up to now unwilling to commit themselves.

Many Asians regret that the Malayan Prime Minister is so eager to form closer relations with the governments of the Philippines and Thailand, both of whom they regard as little more than American puppets. During his state visit to the Philippines in 1959, Tunku Abdul Rahman and President Carlos Garcia, who stood as co-sponsors of the South-East Asia association plan, said in their communiqué that their aim was "to seek ways and means to elevate the standard of living and improve the material welfare of their peoples". It is clear that the Tunku has not been deterred by the evidence of anti-Americanism in Korea, Japan and South Vietnam: he remains eager to bring his country into closer ties with those who are already committed to SEATO. Maybe he feels, because he is ending the anti-Communist military operations in the Malayan jungle, that it is more than ever necessary for him to assure the western powers and their associates in Asia that he remains as inveterate an enemy as ever of Communism.

#### Mr. Dulles's Trigger

THE firm reaction of some Asian countries to the dangers accruing from U-2 take-off bases seems to have had some repercussions in American tactics, but has apparently not resulted in any change of policy. U-2s have been removed from Japan proper to Okinawa, and assurances given to Pakistan and Afghanistan that their territories would not be used as bases or even crossed in connection with the spy planes. Above all, President Eisenhower's statement that he has prohibited such flights were accepted in good faith by

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the rest of the world. Mr. Khrushchev, it is true, showed his scepticism by refusing to accept either President Eisenhower's word or to consider it powerful enough to be heeded by other influences in American policy.

It seems now that Mr. Khrushchev has been right, and that apparent acquiescence to Asian demands has only led to a shifting of operations from Asia to Europe. And who the influences, or some of the influences are which dare to defy President Eisenhower's assurances and orders, has also become fairly clear. Almost simultaneously with the disappearance of the RB-47, Mr. Allen Dulles, all-powerful chief of America's CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) appeared in London and Bonn. As usual, Mr. Dulles's visit was shrouded in all the cloak-and-dagger mystery befitting his position, but it was rumoured that he was seeing to it that Asia's gain would be Europe's loss and that spy flights, presidential orders or not, would now be carried out from western European bases.

Mr. Dulles is said to be the only man in America who is above Congressional or any other control whatsoever. Billions of dollars are appropriated every year to keep his far-reaching organisation going, and as a special present he was given a headquarters last year which cost \$43 million. What the US citizens obtain in exchange, nobody can tell, for it would be difficult to assess whether the unpopularity of US policy in Asia is based on advice derived from CIA, or whether CIA's advice and reports are ignored by the State Department. In either case, this is a matter for the American taxpayer. But if the outside world has to deal with a 51st State within the USA, an organisation which may, on its own irresponsibility trigger off a global catastrophy, then the connection between Mr. Dulles and the U-2s and the RB-47s begin to interest us very much indeed.

### MR. NEHRU: AN APPRAISAL

B. KRISHNA

NE could not have come across many genuine critics of Nehru less than three years ago; he enjoyed the undisputed status of being above all thoughts of doubt and suspicion. Today the tide seems to be turning, and he faces a growing criticism of his domestic and foreign policies. Many analytical minds have begun putting the question usually asked of every great man: Is he going to outlive his achievements—achievements Nehru has been striving for with the sincerity and passion of a revolutionary over the last 40 years? The seventies he has entered will most probably provide the answer, and he faces a decade which is going to be the most crucial period of his entire political career.

Ever since 1929 when he proclaimed the Independence Resolution as Congress President, Nehru's star has been in the ascendant. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, made him his "heirapparent", and the nation its "uncrowned king". He became the idol of the youth; a symbol of the people's hopes and aspirations in regard to the birth of a new India—an India free from the spectre of want, hunger and disease, in which Nehru would not "hesitate hanging profiteers from the nearest lamp-post".

How far has Nehru done that? Or, to put it rather more appropriately, what are going to be the achievements of this super-idealist? Will he be successful in firmly founding secular democracy and a socialistic pattern of society in the country? It is difficult to give a straight "yes" or "no", as success does not entirely depend on him, and particularly when he suffers from a number of handicaps. His is no doubt a mind most simple and pure, broad and sublime. But in his thinking and planning he is not backed up by Gandhi's unwavering resolve, nor Patel's unqualified realism and matter-of-fact outlook. His actions are more influenced by emotions than by the practical realities of the situation. Take for instance the difficult food problem India faces today. Did not Nehru declare in 1949 that there would be no import of food after two years? and had added: "Let us make up our minds to live on the food we produce, or die in the That was heroic and noble, but certainly most unreal. India has lost the "Grow More Food" battle the Government had launched in 1948-49, and Nehru has merely been a helpless spectator!

#### Secular Democracy

Nehru faces great difficulties and problems in respect of his ideals of secular democracy and the socialistic pattern of society. Few have understood their true meaning. For most Indians they have remained vague and indistinct, but high-sounding and invested with a certain charm by Nehru's personality. Nevetheless, one might ask: How far has secular democracy been established in India? Whatever success Nehru seems to have achieved is conditional. He has apparently been successful in silencing the so-called Hindu communalism, which had emerged in the preand post-Independence years in opposition to the communal policies pursued by the Muslim League. But there has ever existed the danger of its revival . . . the silent but smouldering embers being now and then fanned by the irrational acts of certain sections of Indian Muslims, particularly their attempts at resurrection of the League much to the annoyance of those (including Congressmen!) who had had a bitter taste of the League's violent and uncompromising tactics between 1945 and 1947. Some ask: What right do they have after the creation of Pakistan?

Nehru is, however, not to be blamed for the misguided acts of one community or another. His generous and friendly attitude towards Muslims should be understandable, as it is merely an implementation of the noble principles enunciated by his political guru, Gandhi. But Nehru's permitting the Congress to enter into an electoral alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala, with a view to defeating the Communists in the State elections, was incomprehensible. It was strongly criticised even by some senior Congressmen, including a Muslim MP from Uttar Pradesh, Mr. Ansar Harvani, who had rightly blamed the Congress High Command for reviving the pre-partition policy of appeasing the Muslim League. Not only was the Congress-League electoral alliance absolutely unsecular, but it proved how Nehru had contradicted himself. It was he who had persistently refused to recognise Jinnah's claim that the Muslim League alone represented the Indian Muslims, and had also turned down proposals to form a coalition Government in his own province of Uttar Pradesh after the 1937 elections. Moreover, quite often when he used to feel exasperated at the growing strength of the League, he would unhelpfully remark that there were only two parties in the country the Congress and the Government, and that the others "must

The Congress-League electoral alliance apart, Nehru's action in Kerala should not have been, truly speaking, permitted by his secularism. It is agreed that the deterioration in the law and order situation called for Presidential intervention. But the agitation was undoubtedly engineered by Caste-Hindu Nairs and Roman Catholics—the rich of Kerala—who spent on it as much as Rs. 5,000,000. It was no less than a religious crusade, hundred per cent communal in nature and in the manner it was conducted. It was definitely un-Gandhian to have allowed the agitation to continue the moment it became violent and got out of hand. The removal of a duly elected Government on a flimsy issue like the Education Bill could hardly be justified. The President's action was, however, supported on the ground of the worsening law and order situation. But it may be asked: was it worse than that prevailing in some of the States governed by the Congress? a few of the Congress Ministers or their relations and friends being charged with profiteering, blackmarketing and even abetting of criminals, a comparison will not go much against the Communist Government in Kerala. Judged by the same yardstick, Nehru's action in Kerala was unquestionably unsecular and undemocratic-unless similar action were taken elsewhere!

Secularism has also clouded an important issue like education. So far no particular pattern for educating the growing generations has been evolved. Religious teaching having been denied a place in a secular State, the people's moral fibre seems to have either been considerably weakened, or the character of the nation has not yet been formed. Except for Nehru, most Congressmen's sense of honesty and decency is at the lowest ebb. A situation seems to have developed when people in position, whether in the Government or outside, look for opportunities to exploit.

Prohibition in Bombay has, for instance, provided one such big opportunity. How absurd it is that one can get any amount of liquor in Bombay, and yet the State Government should lose a revenue of about Rs. 120,000,000 a year. The prohibition policy is responsible for the creation of a new class of professional distillers and bootleggers who are enjoying a windfall, allegedly sharing part of it with the custodians of law and order. Apart from the heavy expense being incurred on keeping the prohibition going, it has encouraged the habit of drinking, and also crime. No one dare report against bootleggers, unless one is prepared to sacrifice one's life! Moreover, it seems undemocratic to prosecute some and not others who happen to be highly connected; and also to have two different policies govern the same people in two parts of some of the States. Can Nehru disown responsibility for such a deplorable situation?

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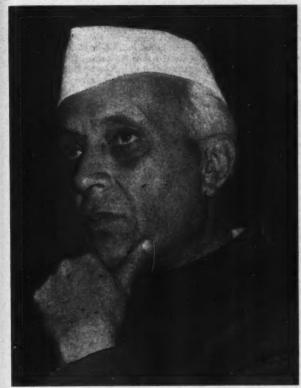
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Socialistic Pattern of Society

When the Indian Constitution laid down that the country was to have a socialistic pattern of society, many took it to be another name for the Ram Rajya of Gandhi, which would preserve the individual entity of man, as well as allow the public and private sectors to co-exist. The visions that Nehru's ideals are unfolding before the nation now seem to be far from clear, and quite different from what the people had pictured in their minds. There is no doubt that Nehru has rapidly taken the country a long way towards industrialisation. In 1947 India was so helpless as to be forced to import such simple consumer goods as hair-pins, paper-clips, tooth-pastes and tooth-brushes. Today, she is on the threshold of an industrial revolution with the country having undertaken gradual manufacture of railway engines, automobiles and even aeroplanes. To achieve all that in 13 years' time is no mean achievement. But there seems to have been some lop-sided development. While without first correcting our failure to achieve self-sufficiency in agricultural produce aimed at under the First Five-Year Plan, India undertook the setting up of heavy industry under the Second. This has led to more money in circulation, which, without a corresponding increase in the production of foodgrains, cash crops and consumer goods, has created inflationary tendencies much to the discomfort of the common man who is already heavily burdened with taxes.

No one has seriously questioned the soundness of the Government directly undertaking construction of huge projects like the river valley schemes or the steel plants. The investment in them is probably far beyond the capacity or ability of individuals. Criticism, however, seems to be valid when directed at the Government's desire to pursue a programme of gradual nationalisation, and the case often quoted is that of the Life Insurance Corporation which has demonstrated to what extent there can be mismanagement of public funds, apart from the inefficiency that has crept

into the organisation.

This programme of nationalisation, or State control and management, is, however, looked upon with much greater alarm in the case of agriculture, both marketing and production. It is considered extremely doubtful if State trading will help the poor man to get cheaper and better quality foodgrains; it is even more so in regard to cooperative farming. Already there exists considerable confusion as to whether cooperative farming would mean "joint" or "collective". When the idea is put into practice, it will, nevertheless, be faken as a direct blow to the individuality of the Indian farmer, who is very zealous to guard it as he values above everything else his sense of pride in owning a piece of land, however small but one inherited from forefathers. Since the visible unit of the individual will disappear under cooperative farming, private initiative is likely to be paralysed; the more so with the creation of a new, powerful class of bureaucrats—the farm managers. It is also feared that it might result in widespread unemployment in the countryside where lives more than 80 per cent of India's 400,000,000.

Cooperative farming may prove another failure like Community Development. In the case of the latter, not only large sums are going down the drain, but nothing has stayed on after Government aid, given for the initial period, is withdrawn and the care and administration of the movement handed over to the local people. Partial responsibility for the failure may be that of corrupt and semi-literate Block Development Officers (with notable exceptions), whose appointments are largely made on political considerations without regard to the ability or the antecedents of the individual. Who knows whether farm managers might not turn out to be another set of inefficient and corrupt bureaucrats like so many Block Development Officers? In all probability they would.

Foreign Policy Nehru perhaps stands on stronger and surer ground so far as India's foreign affairs are concerned. It is in that field that he has the greatest achievement to his credit. It has been all due to Nehru's personality, and his sincere and persistent policy of neutrality, that India has securely been put on the world map and given an honourable place in the comity of nations. She is today better understood and respected by the Big Nations; and she has become the voice of resurgent Asia, and even Africa. Many among the smaller nations look upon Nehru as a sincere, dependable elder brother from whom they can expect not merely

advice or lip-sympathy, but also all possible help.

Neutrality has strengthened India's independence and internal economy by helping her to keep out of the Big Power politics. It is no mean achievement, since Nehru has all along been treading on the razor's edge; and his success is to be recognised in his ability to hold a rope-dancer's balance between the Big Two in a manner which did not permit any chances of dropping into the lap of either. Today Eisenhower seems to value his friendship with Nehru as much as Khrushchev does, and both are willing to render as much of economic assistance to India as possible. This is no small tribute to his policy of neutrality, which is today better understood and more appreciated than hitherto by either. China's threat has no doubt posed a serious challenge to his twin doctrines of co-existence and non-alignment. But he faces the danger calmly, patiently, rather unperturbed and without a violent show of great anger, much to the annoyance of his perplexed countrymen. And who knows in the end he might not come out success ful. Nehru has been lucky in the past, both at home and abroad. His success in Korea and Indo-China appears to some as part of such luck. Yet, having been disillusioned with China, he seems to be seized of the gravity of the situation and is trying his best to make amends for lapses in the past. And his countrymen are right behind him in any efforts he puts in. All they wish is that Nehru should be prompt, decisive and firm in his actions.

Nehru Misses the Bus

Before Gandhi took charge of the Congress, the party comprised so many intellectuals; men who were both orators and writers and sincerely devoted to the cause of the motherland. they functioned differently, and within the limitations they had imposed on themselves. Gandhi took the bold step of crossing those limits by converting the Congress into a mass movement capable of non-cooperating with the foreign government ruling India. The Congress lost its compactness, but gained a position of strength from where it could dictate rather than petition. That strength lay at the apex in the hands of a few, who themselves represented conflicting interests which they voluntarily agreed to put aside in order to preserve the new character of the organisation and wage the freedom struggle. The Congress, however, became a conglomeration of political parties, which suited the movement till the objective of freedom had not been achieved.

The year 1947 presented an altered situation. With freedom having been won, the cause that held the various elements in the Congress together ceased to exist. Gandhi, a shrewd politician, rightly suggested its dissolution. If that wise and timely advice had been followed, Nehru and Patel would have naturally formed their separate parties, more or less on the lines of the British Labour and Conservative parties. Nehru's gain would have been not inconsiderate. He would have freed himself from the Congress which is now proving a deadweight round his neck; and he would have had a party loyal to him and sincere in implementing his ideals. But Nehru "missed the bus", as he seems to have decided, on sentimental grounds, to continue serving the party which evoked sweet memories of Gandhi's association with him since his entry into politics. The consequences of such a decision have been quite harmful to the political system of the country.

The danger of a vacuum descending on India after Nehru looms large on her. That could have been avoided if Nehru had at least reorganised the Congress Party after Patel's death, weeding out those who did not fall in line with his thinking and at the same time training up a second line of young leaders who could take

over the party reins from the present aging leaders.

Nehru's weakness also lies in two other directions. One is his choice of wrong and comparatively inefficient lieutenants. Many of those around him are political parasites who live upon his

name and good deeds. They are not only second-rate people, but opportunists too—busy in making hay while Nehru's sun shines! The other is his loose grip on the administration and the party machine, which has made him dependent on others however good or bad. This has resulted from his lack of determination and a certain degree of ruthlessness so essential in a man of his position. His impulsiveness does not allow him to control the volcano that stirs within, and he erupts too often to be taken seriously. It will be true to say of Nehru that he is great enough to inspire and guide a people, but not administer them; he can rule their hearts, but hardly the country they live in.

Nehru is undoubtedly the best loved man in India. He radiates a charm and grace usually associated with kings and nobles. He sways the hearts of millions, who in their madness easily forget his faults and follies, and listen to his long, rambling speeches with rapt attention. Wherever he goes, crowds follow him in large numbers, and they derive a peculiar satisfaction from the look they have of him. It is no less than adoration. His popularity stems from his simplicity, sincerity, and the sacrifices he has made for the nation. "He is", as Gandhi had once said, "pure as the crystal; he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight sans peur et sans reproche." His name and word still kindle hope in the hearts of the suffering humanity in India. He has many political opponents and critics, but few personal enemies. Even the Communists are prepared to call him "the gentle colossus".

No greater tribute can be paid to Nehru than to quote from what Sarojini Naidu once wrote to him: "... I cannot wish you the conventional 'good gift'. I do not think that personal happiness, comfort, leisure, wealth and such normal assets of the ordinary man and woman can have much place in your life ... Sorrow, suffering, sacrifice, anguish, strife ... Yes, these are the predestined gifts of life for you. You will transmute them somehow into the very substance of ecstasy and victory—and freedom ... You are a man of destiny born to be alone in the midst of crowds,

deeply loved but little understood. . . .

# NORTH VIETNAM: SIX YEARS AFTER GENEVA

From a Correspondent recently in North Vietnam

NORTH VIETNAM'S economic report for the year 1959 has now been made public. It might be useful to recall that the famous Geneva agreements on Indochina (July 1954) have just entered their seventh year. Nevertheless, Vietnam still remains a divided country, with two different regimes, North and South of the temporary demarcation line.

What then is contained in the report laid before the last session of the Vietnamese National Assembly, by Mr. Nguyen Duy Trinh, Chairman of North Vietnam's State Planning Board?

Transformation of the social structure

Firstly, it is necessary to note the transformation that has occurred in the Vietnamese countryside, whose feudal structure had not changed until the end of the French domination (1945). From this angle, the changes which took place during the year 1959 deserve particular attention, because they marked the beginning of a radical transformation of the Vietnamese social structure.

At the end of 1959, there were in the whole of North Vietnam, 28,775 agricultural cooperatives, comprising 45.4 per cent of the peasant families of the country\* This per-

centage is much higher in many villages where the cooperatives cover from 60 to 80 per cent of the peasant families. (The number of these advanced villages is already equivalent to 32 per cent of the total number of North Vietnam villages.) On the average, 43 families form a cooperative, in which rational use of labour, means of production and capital, have brought many advantages to the participants. I had recently the opportunity of seeing for myself the working of these cooperatives in a village situated in the immediate surroundings of Hanoi. Forty-three per cent of the peasant families of the village have entered into four cooperatives. The output of the rice-fields cultivated by these cooperatives is 3,186 kg. per hectare, compared with an average of 2,430 kg. for the whole village. But more significant are the figures of borrowings and deposits by the members of the four cooperatives with the credit cooperative of the village: in 1958, they borrowed 4,375 dong and deposited 3,210 dong; in 1959 they borrowed only 1,140 dong and the figure of their deposits was nearly three times as big, 9,115 dong. "All this", Mr. Van Chi, poor peasant at the time of the agrarian reform and

\*At the time of writing, the number of cooperatives has reached 32,781 with 52 per cent of the peasant families.

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now one of the members of the Management Committee of the "Viet-Trieu" cooperative, told me, "serves as an example to our fellow-villages, who are quick to realise that their

interest lies in joining the cooperatives."

It is precisely owing to this movement towards cooperative farming which grows wider and deeper every day, coupled with efforts for a constant improvement in cultivation techniques encouraged by the Government, that in 1959 the production of rice—the Vietnamese's staple food—reached 5,200,000 tons in North Vietnam, leaving far behind the previous years' achievements (in tons):

1939 (Year of great production under French

	domination	1).		 		2,400,000
1955	(first year	of	peace)	 		3,500,000
1956				 		4,200,000
1957	***			 		4,000,000
1958				 	444	4,500,000

With this constant increase in production (the target for 1960 has been fixed at 5,500,000t), the North Vietnamese have successfully solved their food problem which was still very

acute up to the quite recent past.

The "socialist reformation"—as the Vietnamese are currently saying—is also taking place in the commercial and industrial spheres. Among the artisan population, cooperatives already group 65 per cent of their total number. The percentage is lower among the tradespeople, still only 13 per cent. (It must be noted, however, that in the field of internal trade, the State sector has reached 52 per cent of the retail trade, and this has been instrumental in stabilising prices).

But in the section of private capital, already more than 45 per cent of the total of private enterprises have been transformed into State-private joint enterprises. There again, the rationalisation of production and the more enthusiastic participation—thus more efficient—of the workers in the management and in the production, have enabled the production figures to double, treble, quadruple and even quintuple in a good many joint enterprises. The capitalists, too, are adapting themselves to the change with particular goodwill. They still take part in the management of enterprises and many of them occupy positions of authority, as in the case of a sawmill whose owner has now become one of the directors of the joint enterprise.

Yet much more importance should be given to the State sector itself. During 1959, the Vietnamese Government has invested in capital constructions the sum of 494 million dong (approximately £49 million), i.e. 67 per cent more than in 1958. Amongst 130 enterprises which started constructional work during 1959, 60 are already, or nearly, completed and five others have already gone into production. Towards the end of 1959, new commodities such as plastic goods, enamelled ware, millinery and office equipment have been produced, to which have been added quite recently rubber items, soaps and cigarettes, etc. To the European observer this might seem to be of secondary importance. Yet it must be recalled that the Vietnamese consumer, until very recently, had to import such goods as pencils, nails, or even dolls.

The industrial centre of Vietri, 80 km. from Honoi, is being built and will be soon producing sugar, paper, chemical

products, and several other products.

As for the development of the means of production, a number of industrial units have been set up: power plants, gas factories, a Chromite mine (one of the richest and most easily exploitable in the whole of South-East Asia) and an apatite mine. A metallurgical industry is to appear soon with the

construction of the iron and steel complex of Thainguyen, with an initial capacity of at least 100,000 tons per year.

Apart from all this, one must not forget the 500 Local State enterprises—built and administered by the provinces themselves—producing fertilizers, agricultural implements, building material, sugar, fish sauces. This is by no means negligible, for those local enterprises represent more than 12 per cent of the total industrial production of the country.

As a result of the progress of industrialisation, the part of industry and handicraft in the economy of the country has increased from year to year: from 32.8 per cent in 1958 it has reached over 37 per cent in 1959. The increase is particularly noticeable in the essential products: from 1955 to 1959, the per capita output of electricity has increased by 3.5 times, of coal more than three times, of cement more than six times, of phosphate nearly six times, and of textiles more than eight times. Economic progress has resulted in a gradual rise of the standard of living for the great majority of the North Vietnamese.

The results obtained are not surprising, if one looks at the proportion of the budget allocated to economic and cultural expenditures (69 per cent in 1959). Of course, in the process of its national reconstruction, North Vietnam has known and still knows difficulties, of which the paucity of technicians and skilled labour is not the smallest. North Vietnam is solving this problem by an intensive development of its educational system. Illiteracy has been fundamentally wiped out 1,745 new schools for general education have been built up to now. For the formation of its cadres and technical personnel North Vietnam has opened about 30 professional schools and many higher schools and universities. North Vietnam has also sent a number of young people to the Socialist countries for both theoretical and practical training.

Consolidation of the Regime

On the political side, two recent facts must be pointed out. The first was the adoption of a new Constitution by the Vietnamese National Assembly in the first days of January 1960. Before it was submitted to the ratification of the Assembly, the draft of the new Constitution—amendment on the 1946 Constitution—had been made known to the North Vietnamese population and had given rise to enthusiastic discussions all over the country. The discussions started in fact on April 1, 1959, and lasted for four months. Taking into account the numerous opinions expressed during these discussions, the proposed Constitution was once again amended before going for final ratification by the National Assembly on January 1, 1960.

Why was a new Constitution needed? The Constitution of 1946 had completed its historic mission. The question was how to formulate a political and economical structure more in keeping with the revolutionary tasks of the present day. In fact, from 1946 to 1960, big changes have taken place: the victorious war of resistance which resulted in the liberation of half of the country; the success of the agrarian reform which enabled the complete abolition of the feudal structure of the Vietnamese countryside; and finally the rehabilitation of the country's economy to its pre-war level since the end of 1957. The time has come for the Vietnamese people to enter into a new stage of national advance. The preamble of the new Constitution says:

"The Vietnamese revolution has moved into a new position. Our people must endeavour to consolidate the North, taking it toward socialism; and to carry on the struggle for peaceful reunification of the country and completion of the tasks of

the national people's democratic revolution throughout the country."

Some of the main points of the new Constitution can be summed up in these few lines: the Vietnamese State is a people's democratic State resting on the basis of a workerspeasants alliance, led by the working class and closely united with the intellectuals, artisans and tradespeople. With regard to the national capitalists, the Constitution protects their right of ownership of their means of production and other properties and they will be guided towards activities beneficial to the national welfare, in accordance with the State plan. The State encourages them to follow the path of socialist transformation through the establishment of State-private joint enterprises and other suitable ways.

Regarding the economic policy in general, great emphasis is laid on the development of the public sector, which will be the foundation to a socialist economy and will act at the same time as a lever to push forwards the socialist transformation

in the other sectors.

The second important event is the holding of the recent elections (May 8, 1960) for the Vietnamese National Assembly, in the provinces situated North of the 17th parallel. The last Vietnamese Assembly was elected on January 6, 1946, and was also the first assembly elected after the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Fourteen years must seem a long time for an assembly to be renewed. Yet it must be borne in mind that the war of resistance started in the very same year as the first elections and lasted until 1954. On the other hand, when peace was restored, the Geneva agreements had stipulated the holding of general elections in the whole of Vietnam (North and South)

for the reunification of the country. Those general elections have never been held, due to the systematic obstruction of the South Vietnamese authorities who never responded to the proposals made by the North, proposal repeated from year to year since 1956. It was, therefore, to allow the North Vietnamese population to exercise their democratic rights, to choose their deputies for the management of public affairs, that the present elections in North Vietnam were held. A point must be noted: more than 90 deputies elected in 1946 for the South Vietnamese provinces hold their mandate by virtue of a decision of the last Assembly and so go on representing the South.

The elections on May 8 of this year, carried out in an atmosphere of enthusiasm, have returned to the Assembly 362 deputies from a total of 455 candidates (it is appropriate to mention here that the population of North Vietnam has now nearly reached the 16 million mark, according to the last

census of March 1960). . .

The composition of the new Assembly (for the new 362 deputies only) deserves to be examined, for it reflects quite fairly the social forces now existing in North Vietnam: 50 workers, 46 peasants, 65 scientists, technicians, artists and educationalists, two national capitalists, two Buddhist priests and three Catholic priests are among the elected deputies. Forty-nine women and 56 minority nationals will sit in the new Assembly. President Ho Chi Minh himself has been reelected by 99-91 per cent of the electors of his constituency.

Next month (September), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will be celebrating the 15th anniversary of its foundation. As many observers have noted, the regime is growing stronger each day.



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#### Tokyo: Aspects of Pleasure (1)

## KABUKI

#### ETHEL MANNIN

WHEN I first arrived in Tokyo various people with whom I had corresponded there gathered at the strictly-Japanese-style inn at which I was staying and we all sat round on the tatami drinking green tea and discussing something they called my "skedule", that is to say what people and organizations I should meet. Would I be interested in the trade union movement? The women's universities? Women's peace organizations?

I replied that I was interested in any and every aspect of Japanese life, from Zen Buddhism to the Etas, the 'untouchables' of Japan. But after this cultural-sociological flourish I descended to a lower level; I was also, I continued, interested in geisha, sumo (Japanese heavy-weight wrestling) cherryblossom viewing, and sake-drinking. Too late I realized that I had omitted the arts.

"What about Kabuki?" they cried, reproachfully. (Englishspeaking Japanese are very fond of prefacing a question with 'What about?')

I said I had seen Kabuki in London, but they would not have that, even though I insisted that it had been presented by a Japanese company. Wasn't it true that in London women had been in the company? I had to admit that it was, and thereby disposed once and for all of the idea that I had truly seen Kabuki.

As it turned out I was in due course taken to the Kabukiza, the big Kabuki theatre in Tokyo, as the guest of the President of the Calpis Company, which makes a soft drink of that name also known as The Taste of First Love . . . which perhaps describes it well enough, since it is both sweet and sour, but altogether memorable. But that is another story. . . .

Kabuki is "the thing"; it is for the common people. Noh is dramatic and Buddhistic, and essentially esoteric; it was centuries ago found 'too aristocratic and solemn for the common people', and Kabuki emerged for the masses, being extrovert and playful and often comic; it is extremely popular, but it carries also a certain cultural cachet, so that not to admire it is to be written off as culturally deficient. I must nevertheless record that I did not like Kabuki in Tokyo, the 'real thing', any more than I had liked it years ago in London.

There is nothing, artistically speaking, against men playing women's rôles if they can do so convincingly, but when you get, as you commonly do in a Kabuki play, a stout middle-aged man playing the part of a supposedly young and beautiful woman the thing becomes ludicrous and even bordering on the obscene.

But I never found a foreigner to agree with me. Foreigners in Japan are invariably ardent about two things: kabuki, and ikebana (flower arrangement) and to suggest that anyhow from a western point of view a good deal of the acting in kabuki is ham, and the female impersonators comic or worse, is as bad as saying outright that a good deal of ikebana is unattractive and silly (I was in a coffee-bar in Kyoto once when an American woman at the same table reverently touched some wilted asters stuffed tastelessly into a vase and observed, warmly, "These people can do just anything with flowers!"...)

That some Japanese flower arrangements are delicately beautiful doesn't alter the fact that some of them are ugly and grotesque, any more than the truly wonderful decor of kabuki alters the facts about the acting—or makes it bearable for people like myself who expect an actor presenting the role of a young and lovely woman on any stage to look the part, and who objects to ham acting in any language. Who maintains, moreover, that ham is ham, in any language.

When I suggested that if women's roles were to be played by men young men should be chosen for the parts when youth was called for, he replied that the young actors hadn't the experience, as the female characters were usually important ones.

Kabuki cannot be done properly without a specially designed stage; to attempt to compress it within the limits of a conventional stage, as was done in London, is absurd. It demands a huge space to accommodate the grandeur of the sets, and a long raised aisle running the whole length of the auditorium to the stage is essential. Many of the entrances of the actors are not made from the wings of the stage but from the back of the auditorium along this runway, which is called the hanimichi. In some kabuki theatres there is a hanimichi at each side of the stage. The revolving stage is also a feature of the kabuki theatre. At the Kabukiza in Tokyo there is only one hanimichi, and if there is a revolving stage it did not revolve the afternoon and evening I was there-Kabuki begins at noon and goes on until about nine o'clock at night; I went only to the second half of the programme, and was not sure whether I would have the staying power for the entire four hours, but the last of the three plays being done was considered the most interesting, so I sat it out, though the last play seemed interminable.

In classical kabuki the acting is symbolic and stylized, but in recent years there has arisen a new school of Kabuki playwrights, a school which has discarded the classical conventions and endeavours to adapt itself to the needs of modern audiences. Their plays have no musical accompaniment and admit little exaggeration in acting. They thus possess scarcely

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1-chrome Uchisaiwai-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan Cable Address: C.P.O. Box 144 Tokyo any of the characteristics of kabuki plays, although their subject matter is always taken from life in feudal Japan. To this school Sawakao Ariyoshi, a rising woman novelist who wrote one of the plays I saw, clearly belongs, but I could not find that the acting served her modernistic purpose.

Japanese audiences do not applaud much or at all, and there are thus no 'curtains'. At the end of each play there is a general movement towards the *foyer*, though some people remain in their seats and those in the cheaper seats at the back busy themselves with rice-boxes and chop-sticks.

We came out of the theatre into torrential rain, with the weeping willows of the Ginza lashing in a high wind. Not having eaten in the theatre, we were hungry; it was by then nine o'clock at night, though we had gone in in afternoon sunshine.

We went into a restaurant and my companion suggested we have lunch.

"Lunch?" I said, "At this time of the night?"

"Yes," he said, "you can have it. It's on the menu." It was; we had it.

# HONG KONG SOUVENIRS

JAY HALLAM

A NGEL, I've kept you waiting. But one has positively to fight one's way through the throng. One knows everyone... Noel! Yoohoo!... Foreign Correspondent, darling. Too fascinating. Too absurd... Noel, you divine creature, turn your chair round again absolutely this instant. You're lunching with your wife today—remember?... Bliss to see you, sweetie. Let's order a drink, and tell each other

everything . . . Boy! Here, boy!

Now tell me—don't you simply adore Hong Kong? As Toby and I keep saying, it's the one place left in the East fit to live in. And it does make one's social life worthwhile when one can sit down to dinner with divine people like Dickie (Mason, darling), King (Gable, pet), a Kahn or two, and always one of those sweet life peers. But angel, Kowloon. How too too tourist. One practically never goes to Kowloon. Everyone's here. Except the Army of course, poor lambs. You must look up the Parkinsons. Toby and I adore them. Brigadier Parkinson.

Chukkers, my poppet, what joy! One almost didn't see you, slipping past us like that. Now who's here you don't want to see? Heavenly weekend in Macao, Chukkers. Practically lost the shirts from our backs, but the Rensons adored it. You remember the Rensons—our houseguests? Lord Renson—dear old Bobbykins. Chukkers, I'm simply not speaking to you for one more second. I'm meant to be lunching with this dear, dear friend from England . . . Isn't Chukkers heaven? You recognised him, of course?

Darling, New Territories! How Bizarre! How positively abnormal of you. All those ghastly shacks—too sordid. One just doesn't look. If only one wasn't so madly over-occupied for every moment, one could really shew you Hong Kong... Angel, what doesn't one do? Hairdresser and dressmaker this morning—too exhausting. And I absolutely have to have two inches off my hips to get into this divine new dress for Oggie's party. It's going to take my masseur practically the entire

afternoon.

Oggie? Darling, one does seem the teeniest bit out of touch. He's that divine American who's always in Life. He's lending us his pied-à-terre in Town for our next leave. Too too convenient. Right by Buck House... Only the two of us, angel. They go to this holiday home. Of course one misses them. One's simply shattered. But one's children have to be educated.

Let's have one more drink and then peep at the menu. The Chicken a la Kief is quite reasonable here . . . That divine thing where the butter positively bursts up at one. Where's the head waiter? . . . Boy! Here, boy! Darling, I don't care how distinguished he looks—that's how one speaks to them.



One makes enough sacrifices for them, heaven knows. Our water's rationed as well.

Dear Heavens, what's this woman's name? That's the one trouble with Hong Kong. One has to mix socially with some of the Chinese. Actually she is one of the better ones. Pots of money, and too too grateful . . . Angel, what heaven. Ages since we met. I hear you're building the most divine new home. Too, too *Chinoise* they tell me. I shall come and see it . . . Which will just about make her year.

He doesn't think we're sitting there, does he, where absolutely nobody can see us? . . . Boy! Here, boy! I don't care who it's reserved for . . . He knows perfectly well it only wants Toby and me to switch to the P.G. to start the rot . . . Now, about tomorrow—before we have any more interruptions. You know how to find us? Sweetie, all the taxi drivers know our place. The Peak—and allow yourself plenty of time. We're right at the top. . . .

## ASIAN SURVEY

#### AUSTRALIA HAZY ABOUT NEW GUINEA

From Charles Meeking

SOME current political and social trends in both ends of New Guinea are deeply disturbing. Open minds and clear thinking are essential now among both Dutch and Australians, but are alarmingly lacking. The true issues are being clouded by prejudices, outworn strategic theories, racial difficulties, religious differences, and the internal politics of both Holland and Australia. All that, unless checked, can pave the way for serious troubles. In a few years they could cause a "little South Africa".

Even on the crucial West Irian issue Australians are uninformed and largely indifferent. Instead of seeking to understand the Indonesian claim, they swallow the fallacious cliches of the politicians and newspapers almost wholly opposed to Indonesia.

The most curious development has recently been the sudden change in pace of the Australian programme in Australian New Guinea and Papua. Following the statements by the Territories Minister Paul Hasluck that the Dutch were going "too fast" in West New Guinea, and that it would be 30 years before the native peoples of eastern New Guinea would be ready for self-government, the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. R. G. Menzies, announced that he had been converted to the need for rapid advancement towards this objective. "Better too soon than too late," he said, only a few hours before similar sentiments were expressed by the UN Trusteeship Council.

This presumably means that Australia is to follow the Dutch lead in training an *elite* to take over administration within a decade or so—although Mr. Hasluck has remained guarded in his own comments.

He has promised "immediate and realistic" target dates for stages of educational, social and economic advancement, adding the disarming but unilluminating comment that "we see no kindness in making human beings walk over cliffs in the dark". Yet neither the Dutch nor the Australian Government has given any indication of what form of self-government is envisaged for the people of New Guinea, what provisions will be proposed for their economic stability and defence security, or even how much they will be told (and advised?) about the possible alternatives before them.

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Australia is unlikely to accept any suggestion that New Guinea should become an Australian state. The idea of a "Melanesian Federation" is far-fetched and impracticable—and Dutch and Australian reactions to an Indonesian link would be interesting.

This uncertainty and confusion of objectives would be bad enough if it were accompanied by fully enlightened and adequate control of present conditions. Unfortunately, in the Australian end, a variety of religious missions has been encouraged to set up schools where native children are learning sectarian beliefs. Still more unfortunately, most of the Australian white settlers in New Guinea are convinced that native independence would be fatal to their own investments

and future. There are some alarming stories of racial discrimination, of flagrant exploitation of native shoppers, of business and social colour bars which are certainly in defiance of administration policy but have not been subject to either remedy or rebuke. These have caused deep and bitterly-expressed native resentment.

It is claimed by Indonesia that in West Irian the Dutch controllers are even more "colonial" in their behaviour—but at least the problem there is not increased by the presence of any Dutch settlers. Yet the whole tenor of native feeling throughout the island must be affected by what is being said and done. It will not be lessened by the planned visit of parliamentarians from Canberra.

Mr. Hasluck himself has the best of intentions. He has just paid a special visit to the territory to discuss suggestions for political development with representative European and native citizens, and to explain that delays in making the Legislative Council more representative of the native races have been caused by the challenges to the Council's validity from European sources.

It remains to be seen, however, whether he will have any useful suggestions to offer the Australian Government, and whether that Government will disclose whether it has any real idea of how, where and when self-government for the New Guineans will be achieved. In the meantime, the three or four million native population of New Guinea may reach 20 million by the end of the century. The New Guinea people are already being subjected to some pressures from Asia, despite the efforts of the Administration to exclude such influences, and they will certainly get much more attention in future.

One serious complication for both Holland and Australia is the increasing cost of developing the territories. It is obvious that in the Australian sector a great deal more than is now provided will have to be paid by Australian taxpayers.

This will be a budgetary and political problem of magnitude. It cannot even be presented as a contribution to the military security of Australia, for there is growing appreciation that any attack on Australia would not follow the Japanese approach of 18 years ago into New Guinea. It may be claimed in Canberra that a friendly, self-governing New Guinea will become a useful ally for Australia—but what assurance is there at this moment that the New Guineans of ten or twenty or thirty years hence will be disposed to ally themselves with Australia?

There is also, of course, the build-up of Dutch arms in West Irian, which was prefaced by the unfortunate Dutch statement that it followed aggressive tendencies apparent in Indonesian foreign policy. This provocative assertion caused profound indignation in Indonesia, where Australian acceptances of assurances that Indonesia would not resort to arms on the West Irian issue, unless attacked, had been welcomed. As this is written, the Dutch ships are approaching Australia. Even the most ardent supporters of the Dutch have

been disturbed by the possibilities, and there seems no doubt that there have been Australian warnings that provocation of Indonesia must be avoided at all costs.

A longer-range problem is presented with the Japanese, who are increasingly good customers of Australian wool and

other products.

Differing views are being expressed. Mr. Menzies, who was convinced that Russia never wanted a summit conference, and was thus at variance with a substantial body of thoughtful American opinion on the pre-summit happenings, was also persuaded that the riots which prevented Eisenhower's visit to Japan were wholly attributable to the Communists. He expressed the view that the efforts of the United States and Australia to encourage a stable, non-Communist, orderly Japan, repenting of the past and learning to live in a civilized fashion with the world and in it, had received a severe set-back. "There has been a pretty serious weakening of the position," he said.

This view has not been fully accepted. There is a disposition to agree with observers who believe that Japanese hostility to the US Security Treaty came from other causes.

Major-General Gordon Bennett, commander of the Australians in Malaya in 1941-2, who has just been visiting Japan, declared that the opposition to the treaty was not a Communist-inspired plot but a reflection of resurgent Japanese nationalism. "The storm has started," he said, "and Australia had better be careful."

For Australians who recalled that the Japanese leaders of the 'thirties were talking of "a hundred years' war," and who were also hearing now of Chinese plans for nuclear weapons, this was hardly reassuring. It should have made all the more important, moves designed to ensure a stable and friendly Indonesia as a nearby neighbour, but nothing of the sort was evident as yet.

#### Singapore

#### PAP Rift

From our Singapore Correspondent

The news of a serious rift in the ranks of the People's Action Party (PAP) Government burst with dramatic suddenness in Singapore. The party has all along tried to maintain an united front, at least, to the public, but it has been known for some time to be divided into three main camps—rightest, Communist, and so-called genuine Socialist. It seems that the "genuine Socialist" faction within the party has brought about the rift although whether it will be supported by the Communist element remains to be seen.

The news broke with the announcement, following a secret week-end meeting of the PAP Central Executive Committee and branch executives, that the Central Executive Committee should consider the expulsion of Mr. Ong Eng Guan from the party. Mr. Ong has had a chequered career in the PAP and has always been considered something of an opportunist. He was the first (and last) Mayor of Singapore and the first Minister for National Development in the PAP Government. Mr. Ong was charged at the Conference with attempting to disrupt party unity and destroy its collective leadership, but what the story is behind the news no one seems to know. A few days afterwards, came the announcement from the Prime Minister's Office that he had been suspended as a Minister

of State until his future in the People's Action Party was determined.

Mr. Ong has never taken much trouble to disguise the fact that he is dissatisfied with the pace at which the PAP Government is moving and the direction in which it is heading, and, with this showdown at the Conference, the decks have been cleared for a straight fight between him and Mr. Lee Kuan Yew (Prime Minister and Secretary-General of the PAP) for the control of the party. Apparently, Mr. Ong brought matters to a head at the Conference by putting forward a controversial 16-point memorandum on behalf of the Hong Lim Branch of the PAP voicing its dissatisfaction with the party leadership. Mr. Lee reacted violently to this move, interpreting it as an out-and-out bid for power, and decided to crush it before it had time to gather momentum. Unfortunately, he did so in the worst possible way-by the personal smear-and Mr. Ong's name was smeared in the mud with little opportunity being given to him to reply. Minister after Minister, Political Secretary after Political Secretary, Assemblyman after Assemblyman, stood up with monotonous glibness, to complain about Mr. Ong's disloyalty to the party and his personal political ambition. Many of them sounded like little schoolboys telling tales out of school. For example, Mr. Leong Keng Seng, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education, in announcing that he must expose Mr. Ong, said "Ong Eng Guan promised my branch that the roads in my constituency will be repaired. Subsequently, when no repairs were carried out, he passed the blame to Chang Sun Wing, hoping it would split our friendship." Mr. K. M. Byrne, Minister for Labour and Law, returned through the Chairman of the Conference, the silver cigarette case that Mr. Ong had given him as a Christmas present.

When Mr. Ong replied, he did so with a certain dignity that enhanced his case. Whether he is blameless or not, he faced his accusers with a mixture of superiority and contempt that compelled admiration. He kept to his 16-point memorandum and demanded that it should be discussed and answered, point for point. He deigned to resort to personal attack but as for Mr. Byrne's cigarette case, he said that it was indeed given as a Christmas present in a true Christmas spirit and that Mr. Byrne, in return, gave his son a piece of chocolate to "return my kindness in spirit". Mr. Ong went on: "I am ashamed by his act of returning the case to me as I am unable to force my son to vomit the chocolate which Mr. Byrne

had given him."

The 16 points contained in the memorandum submitted by Mr. Ong are much too long to be quoted here in full but some of the important points are: (a) that fresh talks should be held with the United Kingdom Government in order to revise Singapore's constitution. Mr. Ong makes no bones of his dissatisfaction with Singapore's present constitution that gives it internal self-government and demands nothing less than complete independence; (b) the Singapore Government should hold talks with the Federation of Malaya Government to bring about a speedy reunification of the two territories; (c) the immediate Malayanisation of all remaining expatriate officers in the civil service. Mr. Ong has a great reputation as a "European-hater" and he hustled and bustled them as much as he could when he was in executive control of the City Council; (d) the Government should call a mass rally in support of the Federation Prime Minister's policy on South Africa and should boycott African goods. Several other points dealt, in rather a technical fashion, with Mr. Ong's objections to the party system of promoting party members to cadres and the

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procedure followed in connection with cadre activities.

The situation deteriorates daily. The Aljunied and Ponggol Branches of the party have come out in support of Mr. Ong and more Assemblymen are known to be on his side. The attitude of several powerful figures in the party towards him, such as Mr. Devan Nair, who recently resigned as Political Secretary to the Minister for Education, and Mr. Lim Chin Siong, an ex-detainee and a leading trade unionist, is still uncertain. They have a considerable following within the party and much will depend on whether they support him or not. It is understood that they did not attend the week-end Party Conference at which Mr. Ong was condemned. The initiative now rests with the PAP Central Executive Committee. If they decide to expel Mr. Ong, he may decide to challenge Mr. Lee Kuan Yew to contest the Hong Lim byelection against him. Mr. Ong now represents the Hong Lim constituency in the Assembly, and won his seat with the biggest majority of any candidate contesting the last elections. Mr. Lee would indeed be foolish to accept any such challenge because there is no one in Singapore who can hope to defeat Mr. Ong in such an event.

Hong Kong

#### No Football Pools

From our Correspondent in Hong Kong

To the great relief of the Chinese community here the much controversial bill of football pool betting was rejected last June in the Legislative Council with seven votes to zero. The only unofficial member who was originally for the bill, and all of the eleven official members, including the Governor, abstained, making it an almost unprecedented case.

When the bill was introduced into the Legislative Council for the first reading it immediately set off a general opposition against the measure. The Protestant church organisations first raised the cry followed by a large number of merchant associations, trade unions, kaifong associations and woman organizations. They all consider football pools as a form of gambling which, therefore, has to be condemned.

The merchants say that football betting would lead their clerks and employees to embezzling. The spokesmen for women say that football betting may make their children neglect their studies, and induce their husbands to bring home less money. The representatives of religious bodies, including Christian, Buddhist and Confucian associations, all denounce it as demoralizing; only the Catholic church says that football betting is no sin

Of course, the proposal lacked no eloquent advocates: the official members in the Council all wanted to have it, mainly on financial grounds. But the most interesting argument came from Mr. A. P. Moor, general manager of Asian Football Pools, who said that a Gallup Poll had been conducted showing that 3,156 persons wanted it and only 28 persons were against it. He also said that this business would give employment to 1,500 people, and to the government revenue of about HK \$20 million a year, which could be used to benefit some 20,000 really needy people. He even charged that the protest against pools in Hong Kong had been evidently inspired.

Before the bill was rejected it appeared that the officials were prepared to push it through as they did with many other

unpopular measures; but this time they eventually bowed down before the overwhelming opposition, which caused quite a pleasant surprise among the Chinese Community.

Japan

#### Re-Evaluation of US Position

From Stuart Griffin

A possible re-evaluation of the United States position in Japan, militarily, if not politically and economically seems a distinct possibility in the wake of the last-moment cancellation of the Dwight Eisenhower visit here, though a state guest of the Emperor himself.

The Americans have too often, dangerously, concluded that the Tokyo riots were wholly responsive to Moscow and Peking. Such is not the case and to say so merely strengthens the Communists' hands unnecessarily. The role of the Communists in the Tokyo turmoils was grossly, even wantonly exaggerated. It is a grave mistake.

Americans must also learn not to treat neutralism and pacifism as "evanescent moods". This Asian nation has a very real desire to live peacefully in a threatful world, uncommitted while others are lining up, to withdraw from conflicts the nature of which Japanese remember only too well, to be chary of this and that propaganda argument by which their once-defeated and occupied homeland could, they feel, so easily become, once more, the merest pawn and suffering victim.

The US press has been remarkably unindividualistic. It has played what some have called "a party line". The bland assumption that all the fuss and feathers over Kishi, over the Ike visit, over the Treaty is a dread plot hatched by internationalism is a risky oversimplification and moreover at variance with the true facts.

The US must realize, as the scales fall from the eyelids, that it has been enchanted a long time. The Japanese simply do not fear Communism to any the like degree that Americans do. They fear a return to police statism, a loss of neutrality, an involvement in power-politics, far, far more. They must realize the Japanese may not like so well the idea of "partners and co-equals" in the crusade against the forces of "night and terror". They must not see Red bogeymen in every street protest, every anti-Government diet speech, every campaign utterance—now that elections seem so close once again.

The US must appraise Japanese anxiety, Japanese insecurity, Japanese understandable nervousness, sandwiched in between two great blocs, merely wanting to be left alone.

No one, after all, is likely to hate prosperity, a bigger takehome pay, a grander standard of living, better health, longer
life, more free time, and greater hopes for one's children as
well as for one's own future. It is so easy herein to be positive: to show to Japan what benefits have accrued from continued close association with the United States, rather than be
negative and keep on pointing to the menacing spectre of
Communism, that is far more of a terror to America, at this
date, than to the Japanese. Rightly or wrongly the US might
gain more by accenting peaceful progress in Japan than by
keeping Japan agitated by over-stressing the warlike menace
from Sino-Soviet Communism.

# **Recent Books**

Modern Japanese Literature edited by Donald Keene (New York: Grove Press, \$2.45).

The first thing that strikes one on reading this anthology is the extraordinary facility Japanese writers showed in producing work in a totally alien style. In 1868, when the Emperor Meiji assumed control of the government, Japanese literature had reached a very low level indeed—the country having been virtually isolated from all external influences for almost 250 years and consequently had almost exhausted its own resources. Yet within the 40 years that elapsed between the Meiji Restoration and the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese literature moved from the traditional novel based on anecdotes of gallants and courtesans to psychological novels, short stories and even Symbolist poetry, much of it directly influenced by Western writers. Much of the earlier writing of this period can be classed as deliberate imitation but as Donald Keene points out in his introduction:

"The military and commercial successes of Japan have been attributed by Western critics to the Japanese genius for imitation, and this very skill has often been considered a discredit, as if it were somehow more admirable to imitate badly. The literature and art of modern Japan have been open to similar attack by those who deplore any deviations from what they consider to be the 'pure Japanese'. Such critics would condemn the writers and artists of today to expressing their anxieties about a world in disorder through the medium of exquisite poems on the cherry blossoms or monochrome sketches of pines and waterfalls. But, as the Japanese have discovered, the cleavage is impossible: the industrial plant, democracy, economics, Symbolist poetry, and abstract painting all go together, and are today an inseparable part of the lives of cultivated people in Japan as everywhere in the world."

In his anthology most of the main forces behind modern Japanese literature are represented. Its variety and strength is astounding and even though many of the writers have consciously or unconsciously modelled their work on that of Western authors or "schools" there nevertheless runs a vein of something essentially "Japanese" through them. With their flair for first imitating and then improving we can expect that the Japanese will produce writers who have left the Western springboard and have found a form which embodies both their own traditions and those they have so willingly acquired from outside.

The Way of Action by Christmas Humphreys (Allen & Unwin, 18s.).

"Action" is the keynote of this practical manual on how to achieve a balanced and harmonious way of life. The reader is introduced to the differences between right and wrong action, to direct action and non-action—in fact the whole complex field of action and reaction, since the basic tenet of Buddhism is that we suffer now the results of our past actions and now cause the conditions we shall experience in the days and lives to come. Mr. Humphreys points out that as we are in action 24 hours a day, we should learn to do whatever we are doing rightly. If the act is rightly done, the "actor" on his way through life will find a diminishing need of assistance from philosophic doctrine, religious practice, or a Saviour of any kind. But what constitutes "rightly done"? Mr. Humphreys, in the light of his own long experience as a Buddhist, does a great deal to enlighten us.

The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs translated by Trilochan Singh, Jodh Singh, Bawa Harkishen Singh, Khushwant Singh (Allen & Unwin, 22s.).

Until the publication of this selection of translations from the Adi Granth, the Sikh "Bible", very little had been available to the English-speaking public. To the Sikhs, the Adi Granth is more than a Bible—it is their spiritual guide, and was formally given this function by the last, and tenth Guru, Gobind Singh. The Adi Granth is largely the work of the fifth Sikh Guru, Arjan, added to by later Gurus, who brought together the writings of the first four Gurus and the works of both Hindu and Muslim saints and mystics from different parts of India.

This remarkable catholicity of outlook on the part of the compilers of the Adi Granth enabled them to use whatever was valuable in other religious traditions to inspire their followers with true religious feeling, respecting the freedom of the human spirit and inculcating spiritual values at a period when religion in India had become confused with caste distinction and superstitions.

The hymns and prayers in this anthology convey the deep religious feeling and spiritual experiences of their authors—the images used are often homely everyday ones, such as harvesting the crops, preparing food, or analogies taken from the natural life around. Other writers express their thoughts in metaphysical terms, made familiar by the Sufis, of the desire of the Soul for union with God.

These translations can be read with pleasure and profit, not only for their high poetic quality but for their expression of universal spiritual truths.

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#### LETTER TO THE EDITOR

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#### **BUDDHIST BICKERS**

Sir,—I would have thought that EASTERN WORLD, devoted to political, social and economic Asian affairs, was not the place to ventilate Buddhist bickers, but as you published (Mr. Francis Story's lengthy 'comments' (his word) on some of the views expressed in my book, Brief Voices, and as he makes a number of 'sweeping statements' (his terms in connection with my views) perhaps I might be permitted to return the retort courteous ... and correct a few misconceptions thereby.

1. Brief Voices is a volume of autobiography, covering the years 1939-1958. It does not set out to 'give the results' of my study of Eastern thought. All I had to say about Burma and the Buddhism it professes to practise I said in my book, Land of the Crested Lion. I did not go to Burma until 1954 and in the 20 years recorded in my volume of autobiography very little space is devoted to it, necessarily, and my remarks on Burma, Buddhism, and vegetarianism, of which Mr. Story complains, occupy six out 274 pages—10 if the comments on Dr. Schweitzer are included.

2. Mr. Story speaks of my 'conversion to vegetarianism', despite the fact that I clearly state in the book that I am not a vegetarian, inasmuch as I eat fish and chickens—anything, in fact, which I am prepared to kill myself (as I have said in the book). I merely do not eat meat, not wishing to support the horrors of the slaughtering trade (with the cruelty of the cattle-trains and cattle-markets that lead up to it) and not wishing to be what I regard as a humbug in this matter, eating things which I would not have the moral courage to kill myself, or even witness being killed, for meat.

3. A woman who was a vegetarian, which I am not, and do not profess to be, as my book makes clear, would not wear a hat made of or decorated with feathers, obviously. I would not wear a hat decorated with, for example, ospreys, even if I liked and could afford such millinery, which I don't and can't, as these feathers are very cruelly got. I sometimes wear feather hats, which are made from dyed chicken feathers, but then I eat chickens.

4. Meat-eaters always bring up that one about non-meat-eaters wearing leather shoes. It seems otiose to point out that animals are not slaughtered primarily for the production of leather but of meat. Whether there would still be the mass slaughter of animals for the production of leather if there were a mass decline in meateating is debatable, to say the least, but it would seem unlikely in an age when plastic substitutes are so steadily increasing. It seems odd that to date synthetic leather shoes are not available when synthetic leather handbags and suitcases are, and to vegetarians presents a dilemma, with which I find myself in sympathy, though it is surely of secondary importance, being only an offshoot of the slaughtering of animals for food.

5. Mr. Story makes the sweeping statement that 'much of the malnutrition in Asia is due to insufficiency of animal proteins'. Nevertheless millions of Asians live very healthfully on a non-meatarian diet. There is (Mr. Story will agree) very little meat eaten in Burma—not for Buddhist reasons but because it is too expensive—but there is no mass malnutrition. This is also true of Japan where, also, very little meat is eaten (but a great deal of fish). In his excellent book, Meeting with Japan, Fosco Maraini speaks of the great cleanliness of the Japanese masses, and describes them coming straight from the honourable bath to a festival "after a light supper of cereal and herbs. In a western crowd (and, for that matter, a Chinese crowd) there are always too many people walking about with decomposing pieces of meat inside them; they form a kind of peripatetic animal cemetery."

To assert that a vegetarian diet involves malnutrition is to oppose the facts. Many athletes are vegetarians, and one would have thought Dr. Moore a good enough advertisement for vegetarianism—if advertisement were needed. It is also a biological fact that the human species was not designed by nature to be

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carnivorous; it has not the teeth of a canine, nor the short intestine. The anthropoid ape is herbivorous.

A vegetarian diet does not involve living on 'rice, roots and twigs.' For the vegetarian who is not a vegan there are eggs, cheese, milk, fruits, vegetables, nuts, and all the many and varied and delicious dishes that can be made from them. The vegan, of course, does not touch any dairy produce, but fruits, vegetables, nuts (rich in protein) remain.

 Mr. Story also makes the sweeping assertion that vivisection has benefited medical science. Many distinguished doctors profoundly disagree with this contention.

7. There is no debating faith. Buddhists are as entitled to believe that every animal and insect is a creature working out its karma as Roman Catholics are to believe in their own supernatural articles of faith. Both seek to justify their faith by reason. To the non-believer the 'faith that precedes reason' is unacceptable, whatever the religious label.

I am sure, Mr. Editor, that many Buddhists will now 'vent their tolerance' on me, but whether you consider 'this correspondence now closed' or not I, at least, have nothing more to say.

Yours faithfully,

ETHEL MANNIN.

London, S.W.19.

# **Economics and Trade**

# CEYLON TEA AND MIDDLE EAST

VICTOR-KARUNARATNE

In the middle of last year Ceylon's Tea Propaganda Board found itself in the incongruous position of having to popularise dates in Ceylon as part of its programme. This was one of the desperate measures adopted to save the valuable Iraq's tea market worth approximately Rs 80 million every year.

Iraq, which is one of the largest single buyers of Ceylon tea (30 million lbs. a year), had demanded of Ceylon to buy more

dates in return for the tea she buys.

This was not a mere palliative to correct a temporary imbalance in Iraq's trade with Ceylon, but one of the vital pivots on which the whole of the Middle Eastern tea market, valued at Rs. 190 million, rested. In 1958 Iraq's imports from Ceylon amounted to Rs. 66½ million, including mainly tea and small quantities of coconut oil. Her exports to Ceylon, mostly dates, only amount to a paltry Rs. 1½ million. This non-reciprocity of trade naturally affected her balance of payments, which is also typical of Ceylon's trade relations with other Middle East countries. According to the 1958 customs returns the trade gap in their trade with Ceylon was as follows: Sudan, Rs. 1½ million; Jordan, Rs. 8 million; Libya, Rs. 9 million; Morocco, Rs. 2 million; and Tunisia, Rs. 10 million.

From 1958 onwards the Middle Eastern tea market dropped alarmingly. Sudan sales fell from 2½ million lbs. in 1956 to a mere six thousand odd lbs. in 1958, and she refused to buy any more tea unless Ceylon bought her cotton surplus. The Egyptian market was equally most affected. In the pre-1953 era Egypt used to buy a steady Rs. 70 million worth of tea, now she buys a mere 5 million lbs. From 1953 to 1956 the market was steadier and Ceylon was able to dispose of about 25 million lbs. to Egypt. Libya bought 4 million lbs. with a slight drop over the previous year. Hope lay with Syria (3 million lbs.), Iran (16 million lbs.) and Iraq. In the first seven months of 1959 Iraq actually bought an extra 3 million lbs. Thus when Iraq asked Ceylon last year to buy more dates from her, she was voicing a universal trade grievance of the Middle East and was suggesting a remedy. Barter or bust seemed to be their slogan. And this they have steadily set about to do.

The situation has been further complicated as Iraq stipulated that oil should stand outside the barter agreements. Oil, the Middle East's most vital commodity, indispensable for its survival and that of the world is easily marketable, and with it the Middle East can bargain from a point of vantage. Should she barter away her valuable supplies of oil it would mean that commodities like cotton, dates, potatoes, fertilisers, peas, and cement would not find steady markets. Moreover these items are large neither in volume nor value and would hardly compensate for the expensive

commodities these countries have to buy.

As far as Ceylon is concerned dates are an inessential commodity which is not so popular in Ceylon. Cotton would have been better appreciated had Ceylon been a large textile manufacturing nation.

A certain amount of cement and fertiliser could be bought with careful planning in order not to upset the usual suppliers.

But how much of peas or potatoes can we take? With Egypt we actually started a tripartite agreement to buy her cotton in return for our tea and then sell the cotton to Japan. But this agreement broke down nearly immediately as Japanese traders were losing the 20 per cent commission they usually got from Egypt, and though Ceylon undertook to pay part of that commission.

While the situation was thus deteriorating for Ceylon, India was quietly and steadily eating her way into Ceylon's preserves. India entered into a barter pact with Jordan to sell £250,000 worth of tea in return for potash, and since 1953 she has been working her way into the Egyptian market as well, buying Egyptian cotton in return for her tea (cotton which she needs having an important textile industry). Tea exports to Egypt which brought India only Rs. 4 million in 1952 jumped to Rs. 30 million in 1958. The same cotton-tea agreement has increased sales in Sudan from Rs. 3 million in 1955 to Rs. 14 million in 1958. Since May last year Sudan had hardly bought any tea from Ceylon.

The teas most closely affected are the mid-country teas. When an Egyptian Trade Delegation arrived in Ceylon in July last year it indicated that Egypt was willing to buy 60 million lbs of tea (Rs. 120 million) and to sell cement, yarn, cotton and fertilisers. Earlier she had even said that she could sell arms and aeroplanes in return for tea. Nothing was done and the amount of tea sold

to Egypt stayed at 5 million lbs.

If an adverse trade balance militated against the tea market in most countries, a serious paucity of sterling was the reason for the disruption of the Sudanese and Egyptian markets. As early as 1953 Egypt could not find sterlings to pay for her tea. This was aggravated when soon after the Suez crisis her sterling balances were frozen. The restrictions on sterling gave her no option but to turn to barter agreements. But the fact is that even after the release of sterling the Egyptian market showed no improvement. This economic factor somewhat beyond our control had already caused the Middle East Tea Market to dwindle when the diplomatic crisis over the accreditation of a Ceylon representative to Israel set tea circles trembling.

The Arab League itself is a loose kind of organisation and it may yet find internal dissensions hampering its desires to apply economic sanctions against Ceylon. This of course is particularly so of most Middle East Nations. Iraq with her political quarrels with the United Arab Republic may decide to go her own way. She has already been accused by the UAR of soft-pedaling in her policy against Israel, but may base her trade decisions purely

on practical considerations.

Ceylon's hope of course lies in the quality of her tea. She is still the largest producer of high-quality teas and even if world production should increase considerably it would have to go a long way before demand would outstrip supply of quality teas. If Ceylon producers do not sacrifice quality for quantity and concentrate on building up and meeting a demand for specifically Ceylon high-quality teas, then perhaps the outlook may be beighter.

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# MORE MACHINE TOOLS FOR ASIA

THE importance attached by the machine tool industry to the Asian and Far Eastern markets was clearly shown at the International Machine Tool Exhibition, London (July 25-July 6, 1960). Mr. E. W. Field, President of the Machine Tool Trades Association (the organisers of the Exhibition), said at the opening ceremony that "we confidently expect visitors from the whole world, from Japan, Malaya, India, China, Russia, Western Europe, America and so on..." thus naming first the main actual and potential markets in the Asian region.

Mr. R. Maulding, President of the Board of Trade, pointed out that trade between the highly industrialised countries has been growing in the last few years much faster than trade between the industrial countries and primary producers (and in this context he named Japan among the industry's best markets). Mr. Maudling thus touched on the fundamental truth that the industrialisation of developing countries is bound to lead to more trade for the highly industrialised countries, in this case to provide new outlets for machine tools. Usually the process is a gradual one (and closely interrelated to the availability of skilled labour) going from the requirements of comparatively simple types of machines to more specialised machine tools. The establishing of indigeneous machine tool industries in these countries accelerates the change of the pattern of imports from "bread-and-butter" types to more sophisticated machine tools. The manufacturing programme of individual western machine tool manufacturers determines to a great extent their interest in the various countries of Asia depending on their individual stage of development. But there is no doubt that, generally speaking, the machine tool industries are fully aware of the importance of these markets and of their growing potential. At the same time the large number of Asian visitors to the Exhibition has clearly shown the great interest of the area in the latest developments of the exhibited machine tools.

In all interviews on the Asian and Far Eastern markets the manufacturers referred with particular emphasis to India, Japan and China.

In the case of India, UK exports of machine tools amounted to £1'5 million during the first five months of 1960 and accounted for about 12'5 per cent of the industry's overall exports (UK global exports of machine tools increased from £9'2 million during the first five months of 1959 to £12'2 million during the corresponding period of 1960). In addition to actual exports of machine tools the participation of western industrialists in manufacturing machine tools in India in cooperation with Indian interests (in the public and private sectors) is growing steadily, and a number of further agreements of this type have reached an advanced stage of negotiation.

Japan's achievements in strengthening her foreign trade balance together with modernisation plans of her industries have led to liberalisation of Japanese imports, and the allocation of foreign exchange for machine tool imports has been increased. It is understood that a number of orders has recently been placed with UK manufacturers, and that the British industry hopes to

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secure a larger share of Japanese imports than in the past. A group of 24 Japanese machine tool manufacturers which came for a three-week visit to Western Europe to tour machine tool factories, spent two days at the London Exhibition and inspected some UK factories.

China's requirements of machine tool imports are considered to be very big, and the country's rapid industrialisation leads to a growing need of specialised machines. Executives of East European exhibitors (Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany showed a range of their machine tools at the stands of their UK agents) emphasised the large amount of their machine tool exports to China. Many western firms feel that potentially there is a great market for advanced types of their products if only "the door would be open". In the case of the UK, however, manufacturers and exporters complain, that the Board of Trade decision of last November regarding imports from China has antagonised the Chinese against imports from Britain, and that the recent increase of quotas announced by the Board of Trade has not remedied the position. West German manufacturers feel that the absence of diplomatic relations between West Germany and China represents a psychological handicap for the development of trade between the two countries, and this, in addition to China's high unfavourable trade balance with West Germany, adversely influences possibilities of further large-scale exports.

UK—China trade is comparatively a much more balanced one, and during the first four months of 1960 amounted to £10 million in each direction. In May UK exports were higher than the imports, but even then the total for the first five months of 1960 was as follows: UK imports, £12'4 million; UK exports, £15 million.

It is expected that the Chinese will place orders for their 1961 machine tool programme shortly and a buying mission will arrive in West Europe within the next few weeks. In the meantime Chinese officials have made a survey of the latest types of machine tools exhibited in London.

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### Latest UK Machine Tools on Show

THE International Machine Tool Exhibition at Olympia, London, was an impressive show of the developments of that industry. At this unique exhibition, which is held every four years, UK manufacturers exhibit together with their competitors from abroad (the latter at the stands of their UK agents). While at the West European Machine Tool Exhibitions only European makers show their machines, the London exhibition had a strong international character; next to the British and West European machines, contingents of American and East European makes were on show. Less than a year had passed since the last West European Machine Tool Exhibition in Paris (Eastern World, October and November, 1959), and it was remarkable that within such a short period so many newly developed and improved models could be put on show in London.

British machine tool makers displayed many machines of highlyadvanced design which were described by experts as "elegant solutions". It is impossible here to describe all the exhibits worth mentioning. This report only attempts to highlight some of the latest models which are of particular interest to the Asian and Far Eastern industries (exhibitors being mentioned in alphabetical

order)

Asquith Machine Tool Corporation Ltd., Halifax, exhibited their large range of products on two big stands. Among new models were radial drilling machines of pillar and sleeve design and a spindle table type horizontal boring, milling and drilling machine. A 14 station in-line transfer machine for automobile cylinder blocks and the big ram type horizontal milling and boring machine attracted attention among the visitors as well as the automated gear link line for machining of a large Cluster Gear, a girder end facing machine and a large selection of various lathes and openside planers. This organisation is very active in Asian and Far Eastern markets, and its Chairman had returned from yet another trip to Peking shortly before the opening of the Exhibition. Kitchen & Wade Ltd., a member of this concern, had a special stand, at which a range of elevating arm radial drilling machines, a horizontal pipe flange facing machine and other exhibits, including a horizontal drilling, boring and taping machine, were displayed.

Member firms of Associated British Machine Tool Makers Ltd., London, had big individual stands. The Butler Machine Tool Co. Ltd., Halifax, showed among their exhibits a Spiral-Electric Planer with a magnetic integrator-controlled feed and power traverses, in which a new design of cross-slide with square slides both top and bottom is incorporated. Shapers exhibited by this firm had hydraulic copying units. The Churchill Machine Tool Co. Ltd., Manchester, showed a range of their grinding machines, including those with automatic electronic feed, automatic size control, automatic sizing and diminishing feed, and other automatic equipment. Kendall & Gent Ltd., Manchester, had several new models of plano-milling and vertical milling machines as well as their Kenco screwing machine on view. John Lang & Sons Ltd., Johnstone, produced a sliding, surfacing and screwcutting lathe fitted with interchangeable universal profiling slides and other models of lathes for similar operations (including one metric lathe) as well as a centring machine, hexagon turret surfacing boring and screwcutting lathe, and power-operated and auto-indexing chucks. J. Parkinson & Son (Shipley) Ltd., Shipley, exhibited a large range of various types of milling machines as well as a gear deburring machine, gear testers and a gear cutter. H. W. Ward & Co. Ltd., Birmingham, displayed several double-slide capstan lathes and combination turret lathes. Of the makers for whom ABMTM Ltd. act as sole selling agents Clifton & Baird Ltd. exhibited vertical cold sawing machines and a high-speed girder end milling

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machine, while at the stand of Hayes Engineers (Leeds) Ltd. vertical milling machines with 3-dimensional copying equipment, and universal milling machines with hydraulic copying equipment were exhibited.

The outstanding features in the display of David Brown Industries Ltd., Manchester, were two new methods of producing large hobbed gears to limits of exceptional accuracy and precision. The new machines are equipped with electronic control systems, and their development is the result of long-term research by the David Brown Company in conjunction with the National Engineering Laboratory and the EMI Company. The PH 30 Ultra-Precisoin gear hobber, which is capable of producing gears up to 30 in, dia., incorporates the NEL diffraction grating system designed to check and control the transmission accuracy of the table drive. (The NEL system for accuracy control is fully automatic and does not involve the operator in any way). The Ultraprecision turbine gear hobber which has a maximum capacity of 140 in, dia, is equipped with the EMISYN Control System, which is designed to provide a continuous check on indexing accuracy and also to compensate for cumulative errors. Further exhibits at this stand included gear testing machines,

Three subsidiary firms of The Staveley Coal & Iron Co. Ltd., London, exhibited their new models at their individual stands. The achievement of three years' work by scientists and engineers at the Staveley Research Dpartmnt has led to the Archdale "Autonomic" which was shown for the first time at the London Exhibition at the stand of James Archdale & Co. Ltd. and has aroused general interest among the visitors to the Exhibition. This new machine is a multi-purpose, electronically-controlled drilling-boring milling machine which is capable of machining complex workpieces from start to finish without the attention of an operator, and which operates completely from instructions coded on punched tape. At the same stand radial drilling machines of advanced design aroused interest among Far Eastern visitors. New designs of boring facing and milling machines with traversing spindle, and vertical boring and turning mills were exhibited at the stand of George Richards & Co. Ltd. These machines incorporate new techniques evolved at the Staveley Research Centre. Cyril Adams & Co. Ltd., a new member of the Staveley Group, introduced at the Exhibition their new Cadamco copy belt grinding machine, which has been designed and developed to overcome the difficult problem of finishing machining turbine and compressor blades of gas and steam turbine engines, and of similarly formed components to close limits regardless of shape or material.

Wilkins & Mitchell Ltd., Darlston, leading manufacturers of presses which are well-known for cutting production costs at their client's plant, exhibited their high-speed forging press "Forgemaster S" suitable for the manufacture of small and medium sized forgings. Another exhibit at this stand was a new double action straight sided 750-ton capacity press with totally enclosed all steel construction and eccentric drive.

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# Swiss Machine Tools at Olympia

THE Swiss machine tool industry was represented in force at the International Machine Tool Exhibition in London. The Swiss, as all foreign exhibitors, had their machines at the stands of their UK agents. The presence of executives of Swiss firms at the stands to meet their old clients and to strengthen personal contacts with UK and overseas buyers clearly indicated the importance they attached to this Fair.

Only a few months have passed since the Swiss machine tool makers were showing their latest machines at the Basle Fair (see Eastern World, June 1960), yet in London a number of entirely new machines were on view for the first time. The precision of Swiss machines and their elegant finish has earned them a high reputation. Among interesting exhibits were the following:

Essa Machine Manufacturing Ltd., Bruegg/Biel, exhibited their latest blanking and shaving presses. Ewag Ltd., Solothurn, showed their fine carbine tool and cutter grinding machine. This is a very universal machine and is highly suitable for the rapid production of small instrument parts and cutters in carbide.

George Fischer Ltd., Schauffhausen, exhibited for the first time their fully automatic + GF + end-milling and centring machine, which is designed to keep pace with the requirements of the copying lathe, particularly in the case of components with short turning times. Kaiser Ltd., Zurich, demonstrated their complete range of radially adjustable boring heads and the Piccolo automatic facing and boring head on a milling machine. MAAG Gear-Wheel Co. Ltd., Zurich, had on show a gear grinding machine and a gear testing machine.

Mikron Works Ltd., Bienne, which recently received an order from China for various types of their machines, displayed their new hydraulic gear hobbing machine with double programme control, which has the advantage of economic working of a wide range of applications, and guarantees a very high degree of accuracy. This company's manufacturing programme includes machines for the production of precision gears, and includes also precision thread milling machines, hob sharpening machines, precision shaping machines and precision lathes.

Oerlikon Machine Tool Works Buehrle & Co., Zurich-Oerlikon, who are very active in Asian markets, exhibited their spiral bevel gear cutting, lapping and testing machines, a jig boring machine a formed tool and grinding machine, an open-ended hydrocopying lathe with a moveable outer column.

Fritz Studer Ltd., Glockenthal-Thun, have developed a new technique for the accurate production of shoulder distances on a quantity production batch. The equipment consists of two Movomatic length deltalimit gauging heads (built by Movomatic Ltd., of Neuchatel) working in conjunction with and controlling a Studer shoulder grinding machine. Studer Ltd. also exhibited their various types of cylindrical grinding machines and a template milling machine which is optically controlled and finds an increased applications. Wahli Brothers, Bevilard, showed their machines which automatically feed the smallest pinions in use in the watch industry. Their hobbing and single-tooth gear and pinion cutting machines are high-speed machines of very great accuracy.

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# A BURMESE MIRACLE: THE KYAT (II)

ANDRE MOUSNY

ONCERNING Burma's internal finances, it is noteworthy that not only the total supply of money has been on the increase since 1952, but also that the part of it belonging to the State has proportionally decreased while the amount of money in private hands increased from 1 to 3. The Union Bank of Burma Quarterly Bulletins indicate the following trends in money supply (in million Kvats):

	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Currency in cir- culation	416	500	567	725	830	746	853	1043
Demand-Deposits								
(private)	183	253	275	391	513	360	458	464
Privately held								
money supply	599	753	842	1116	1343	1106	1311	1507
Government held								
money supply	567	498	300	252	215	288	383	467
Grand Total	1166	1251	1142	1368	1558	1394	1694	1974

The most important cause for this increase has been the constant borrowing of the Burmese State during this period. For the reasons previously exposed, little could be asked from the private individuals: Burmese masses have few saving and the foreign minority is not willing to invest in Kyats, especially in an open way, visible from fiscal and Police authorities. The official services were therefore obliged to sell most of the Treasury Bills, Saving Bonds, Government Guaranteed Securities to the Commercial Banks and to the Union Bank. These subscriptions created in counterpart an increase in the volume of the money

A far less important factor of increase has been the advances and discounts of the Commercial Banks. But as these advances are a normal credit function of the Banks, it is likely that this factor will become more important in a more active economy.

On the contrary the previously-mentioned rice crisis of the year 1954 has been a factor of contraction of the money supply since every time foreign exchange is lost by an excess of imports, Kyats are brought in as payment of the imported goods to the Banking and monetary authorities.

A certain shift from the private Demand Deposits to the time Deposits, reflecting the confidence of the public in the value of the national currency, can also be observed during this period. It has been a factor of contraction of the money supply.

These contradictory factors explain the evolution of the money supply (in million Kyats):

	1952	1959	Difference
Factors of Increase			
State borrowing from the Union Bank	162	797	635
State borrowing from the Commercial			
Bank	22	578	556
Advances and Discounts	151	281	130
Grand	d Total		1321
Factors of Contraction			
Decrease in the International Reserves			
of the Union Bank	939	567	372
Less Increase of the Int. Res. of the			
Commercial Banks	47	68	21
Net Decrease			351
Increase of the Time Deposits	42	211	169
Grand	d Total		520
	4)	7)	

Dr. Mousny's survey is based on his observations made as French Commercial Attaché over the last four years.

It is not very likely that the payment balance of Burma will deteriorate again. Unless some very grave and unavoidable circumstances arise, the Burmese Government will endeavour to keep the International Reserves at a steady level. The shift from Demand to Time Deposits and the advances of the Commercial Banks are two trends counteracting each other. The main factor influencing the money supply will therefore remain to be the borrowing of the State from the Banking system.

It must be acknowledged, to the merit of the Burmese financial authorities, that this borrowing has never been hidden but that the yearly Budget and related documents, including the Economic Survey of Burma already mentioned, indicate it clearly among the Capital receipts and Capital expenditures of the Government of the Union of Burma. The Capital expenditures include the new loans granted by the Government and the net redemption of Government Securities.

These publications show the importance of the loans granted by the Burmese Government. As it is natural for a socialist country, most of these loans are in favour of Government enterprises, which up to now have reimbursed the state less than they have borrowed:

		Fiscal 1	Years (O	ct. 1 - S	ept. 31)	Cumulative	
		54-55	55-56	56-57	57-58	Oct. 52-March	5
A	 	294	171	247	214	1408	
В	 	218	119	190	183	1023	
C	 	217	119	172	176	794	

Line A represents the total of loans granted by the Government, except the loans to the State Agricultural Bank and to the State Pawnshops; Line B represents loans in favour of Government enterprises; Line C represents these loans less reimbursements of Government enterprises to the State during same period.

These figures are in parallel evolution with the increase of the internal debt of the State (A), of the total investment of the Union Bank (B) and of the Commercial Banks (C) in Government Securities, Bonds, Treasury Bills (in million Kyats):

			A	В	C
1952		***	68	162	25
1953		***	105	151	64
1954	***		474	388	155
1955	***		948	652	289
1956			1045	662	392
1957			1023	747	243
1958		***	1252	710	475
1959			1439	797	578
					5)

The position is exactly as if the Burmese Government was borrowing for one main purpose: to consent loans to the State enterprises or Boards which are dominating the economic life of the country.

Could a pessimistic conclusion be drawn from these facts? Could it be said that the inflation of money supply and a subsequent depreciation of the national currency are for the Burmese citizens the cost of these Government enterprises. These Government enterprises, also called Boards and Corporations, are not subject to such a strict Parliament control as the Government departments.

Such a critical judgment will be unfounded for the following

Firstly, most of these organizations are directed by experienced leaders who keep constantly in their mind a preoccupation of the yield. Controllers of the Government and United Nations Technical Assistance experts assist them in their accountancy. As a

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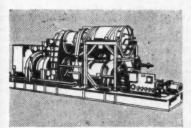
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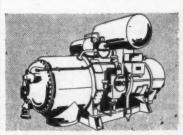
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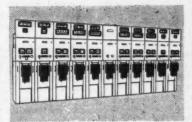
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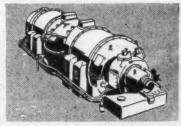
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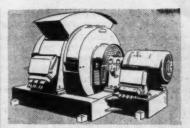
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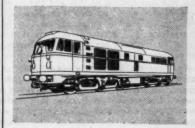
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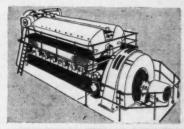
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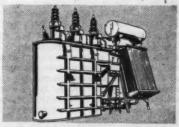
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result there is an increasing contribution by the Boards and Corporations to the normal Revenue receipts of the Budget.

Secondly, when a Board is in deficit, because, for instance, it has lowered or not increased the prices of its services, it must be observed that, if the community is likely to suffer from inflation, it will also take the benefit of cheap services. For example in 1959 in order to facilitate the movement of essential consumer commodities, freight rates of the Railways and Inland Water Transport were reduced by 20 per cent and 25 per cent respectively for certain agricultural commodities.

Thirdly, the ultimate financing of the deficits of the Boards and Corporations is done by loans through the help of the Burmese Government and not by taxes. Even if the State enterprises are responsible for the increase of the national debt, they are not guilty of a very big crime. In December 1959, the total internal debt of the State was only 1,439 millions of Kyats, 26 per cent of the National Income (5,517) and the yearly charge of the debt was not exceeding 2 per cent of the National Income, which cannot be called a heavy burden left on the shoulders of the future generations. At the same time the total money supply (1,974 millions) was only 35 per cent of the National Income. All these percentages are very reasonable if compared with other countries.

Fourthly, the deliberately liberal policy of the Government towards the Boards and Corporations has been the key of the economic development of the country. It has increased the national income and welfare of Burma. It is perfectly normal that the money supply increases when the total amount of goods and services produced increases and when the prices remain on the whole stable; and it is fair that the next generation pays (rather little) by a slight increase of the national debt for a capital immensely increased by the present generation.

Fiscal years	1951-52	1955–56	1957-58	1958-59 (Estimate)
Thousand of Tons of Paddy	5,500	5,776	5,828	6,486
Thousands of Cubic Tons of Timber	510	759	876	783
Millions of Gallons of Crude Oil	31.4	60.1	114.6	130
Thousands of Tons of Lead Ores & Con- centrates	9.1	27	33.6	
Millions of Pounds of Cotton Yarn	1.86	3.07	4.77	6.17
Millions of Cigarettes	53.8	264.2	941.8	
Thousands of Tons of Sugar	13.8	16.32	39.85	38.7

Moreover new factories are now in operation: a steel rolling mill, a tile and brick factory, a jute bag mill (14 millions of gunny bags in 1958-1959) and a pharmaceutical plant. They are certainly among the biggest in their kind in South-East Asia.

The hydraulic central of Buluchang is also under completion and will be one of the more powerful sources of energy in South-East Asia. It will certainly allow a cheaper price of electricity and give a new impetus to the electrification of the country. In fact the consumption has already increased from 50.5 millions of KWHs in 1952-53 to 1697 in 1958-59 and this difference shows a rapid progress in the modernization of Burma.

In conclusion, new monetary units have been created since 1952 but not without an increase of the production and income of the country.

Have the credit and price policy of the Government contributed to this defence of the Kyat value?

It is rather difficult to speak of a credit policy, at least in the

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same sense of the word as in a liberal country, when the larger part of the credit is given by the State to Government enterprises in the way of loans liberally granted and not strictly reimbursed. In this field it seems that the Burmese Government has entirely rejected the traditional notion of immediate yield and has concentrated on a higher goal—to use the credit to strengthen the national production and economy.

In regard to this State credit as well as in comparison with other countries, the private credit allowed by Banks to private traders and industrialists is of a minor importance. At the end of 1952 the amount of outstanding credit was 146 millions of Kyats while at the end of 1959 this amount was 193, equivalent to only one tenth of the total money supply.

Such a position is extremely favourable to a stable monetary policy which cannot be counteracted by private interests or groups of interests.

Similarly price control is not a big problem for a country where the State is the main exporter and importer and the biggest buyer of paddy, rubber, timber and minerals.

Of course the situation in 1955-1956 has given some temporary troubles to the Government. At that time the imports were restricted and the private traders beneficiary of import licences were trying to make undue profits out of the general scarcity of imported products in Burma. But the creation in 1957 of the Joint Venture Corporations, associations of some Burmese traders and of the State, put an end to such malpractices. Through these new organizations, the Government was able to obtain an exact idea of the prices of the main imported commodities: foodstuffs, textiles and hardware. By appointing wholesalers and retailers, authorized only to take fixed margins, and finally by opening their own retail shops, these Joint Venture Corporations practically control the whole market of this product. For some other products, declared of first necessity, the already mentioned Civil Supplies Organization received full power to control the selling prices and margin controls and to prevent the hoarding of goods.

In 1959 the distribution system has been improved by the construction of 23 fair-price shops in Rangoon and it has been decided that all wares placed on display for sale are to have price tags affixed to them.

The importance of the Government sector in the trade of the Burmese raw materials—rice, timber, rubber—has been an important factor for the stability of the price of these categories of goods.

But there is a sector of goods of which the price remained remarkably stable during this period without any apparent direct intervention of the official services. These are the groundnut oil, onions, dry chillies, dried fish, firewood and tobacco leaves, which could be purchased at the same price in 1952 as in 1959 according to the price quotations published by the Union Bank of Burma Bulletins.

This is, of course, the best proof that, without any authoritarian control, the general trend of prices during these eight years has been steady and this result is the symbol of the general confidence of the Burmese public in the value of the Kyat and in the efficiency of the financial and monetary policy of the Burmese Government.

. It has been stressed in the beginning that from all South-East Asian countries, Burma has been the one receiving the least foreign aid during the past eight years. Let us enumerate the grants and loans received. er

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#### **GRANTS**

Source		Equivaler in Millio US Dollar
United Nations Colombo Plan	Technical Assistance: 1953-59 Technical Assistance: 1952-59 (from	5.
	Brit. Commonwealth, Thail., Japan	) 3
United States	Credit for Highways: Rangoon Mandalay-Prome (under construct	
	tion)	30
USSR	Has started to build a Hotel, a Technologic Institute, a Hospital (Burmwants to reciprocate by a gift of	a of
Ford Foundation	rice). Has already spend around Private American Society. Hat already spent in Technical Assistance	S
Asia Foundation	Private American Society. Ha	is
Y	already spent in Technical Assistanc Reparations agreement foresee de	
Japan	livery of goods and services for 20	
	Million Dollars in 10 years. U	p
	to now, only one half of this pro- gramme is completed	100
	LOANS	
World Bank	1956—For reconstruction of Rail ways (reimbursement in 1	
	years) 1956—For reconstruction of th Port of Rangoon (reimburse	e
	ment in 16 years)	14
International	1956-Drawing of the Burmes	
Monetary Fund	quota (to be reimbursed in vears)	15
India	Burma has only utilized three quarters of the Indian offer of 4	2
United States	millions  Loan for economic development, in	31.5
(I.C.A.)	Dollars. Can only be utilized fo economic projects approved by IC/administration. Reimbursement in	r
United States	40 years, possibly in Kyats Loan for strengthening the security	25 y
	forces in Burma his external debt is not equivalent to	10

The interest of this external debt is not equivalent to 2 per cent of the average export returns of the country. The United States loans can even be reimbursed in Kyats. Nevertheless Burmese authorities are afraid of this debt, in which they see a possibility of inflation. They have calculated that the total of accumulated interest is equal to half of the capital borrowed.

Burma has also received from the United States an assistance in an original way. The United States have sent raw cotton to Japan, Germany, England, India, France, Netherlands, Hong Kong and Yugoslavia; and these countries have sent to Burma cotton goods. Burma paid the total price of these cotton goods

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in Kyats to a special American account in 1956. For the imports of 1958-1959, it had paid partly in Pounds Sterling and partly in Kyats. Finally the Kyats collected in the special American account were loaned to the Burmese Government for some specific economic development projects for 40 years. The total amount involved was equivalent to: 5.4 million dollars in 1956, 17-3 million in 1957 and 17 million in 1958-59.

The total of this foreign aid has of course strengthened the value of the new currency. But it does not compare in size with the assistance received by Burma's neighbours, some of which are 20 times less populated (Laos). It should be said, also, that Burma from all the countries in South-East Asia is the one deserving the most foreign assistance because its territory has been the most devastated by the war and because it is still suffering and fighting insurrections without the help of a foreign army while Malaya, to face a similar crisis, has the British army at its

An encouraging fact to note is that most of the above mentioned funds have been utilized for increasing the production capital and not converted into luxury goods, such as automobiles and refrigerators.

The Burmese simplicity of living, the stern and unhesitating policy of the Government in regard to external trade, the moderation of an internal inflation in harmony with the increase of the production and the development of the economy, the success of the price and credit policy, the intelligent use of the small foreign aid received-are the five reasons which, accumulated, explain the "miracle of the Kyat". A new currency is born in a country not yet recovered from the war. This currency managed to survive in spite of the presence of permanent insurrections and of a very expensive programme of Government investments.

And, as we have seen, the black market of foreign currency, the depreciation of the Kyat on the foreign free markets of currencies is in no way related to the degree of strength or weakness of the Burmese economy. It is a phenomenon entirely non-economic, at least not on a national economy level. It is the reaction, the fear expressed in figures, of the foreign minority facing the socialist and nationalist policy of the Government.

It is a mere dream to imagine that, by an official devaluation of the Kyat, the legal and black market values of this currency can coincide. If the permanent cause of the black market—the fears of the foreign minority and the restrictions of foreign exchange regulations-is not dissipated, the black market value of the currency will at once show a further depreciation proportionally to the official devaluation. The conditions-state of insurgency, impossibility of a quick increase of the exports—are the same as in Vietnam in 1953, when the piaster was fruitlessly devaluated. The same results can be expected if a devaluation is decided now in Burma: there can be no betterment in the future of the economy and there would be an immediate increase in the cost of living for the average citizen who is a consumer of condensed milk and other imported commodities.

The real solutions for Burma are the increase of foreign aid and a programme of total destruction of insurgencies by the most radical means. Only then, the Burmese economy will flourish and take full benefit of the immense natural resources of the Both the expansion of exports and the reception of an increased international assistance will alow the relaxation of the foreign exchange regulations and therefore provoke the disappearance of the black market of currencies. The Kyat will then become an international currency as strong as the Siamese Tical, the Malayan or Singapore Dollar. Then these eight years of painful reconstruction will remain in the history of Burma as a period of hardship, but also of courage. (Concluded)

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#### INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

#### D.L.F. LOANS TO ASIAN COUNTRIES

Recent Development Loan Fund, Washington, agreements on loans to Asian countries include:

\$20 million to the Government of India to meet foreign exchange costs of adding 120,000 kilowatts capacity to a thermal power plant at Durgapur, in the Damodar Valley about 80 miles north-west of Calcutta.

A loan of \$9.7 million to the Government of South Vietnam for the purchase of diesel locomotives and railway cars for the South Vietnam Railway System. This equipment will be placed in service on a 688-mile line between Saigon and Dong Ha. The equipment to be bought consists of 23 950-horsepower dieselelectric locomotives and spare parts: various cars and coaches; shop and special equipment; technical services. All equipment will be procured in the United States.

An agreement covering a \$2.6 million loan to the N.V. Indonesian Service Co. Ltd., of Djakarta, Indonesia, to help establish a plant to manufacture Jeep vehicles and Chrysler truck components and body parts under individual licensing agreements from Chrysler Corporation and Willys-Overland Export Corporation. It is estimated that the new plant will eventually produce parts for 4,000 Jeep vehicles and 4,000 Dodge trucks annually, and will provide employment for about 500 workers.

An agreement covering a \$11 million loan to the privately owned Tec Pan Industrial Corporation of Seoul, Korea, to assist in establishing a plant to manufacture building materials out of rice straw.

#### **DURGAPUR PROGRESS**

Successful preliminary hot rolling trials on the Continuous Billet and Sleeper Bar Mill at the Durgapur steelworks in West Bengal, India, have taken place and the Mill is now in production. It is capable of producing a range of billets and slabs required for certain Merchant Mill sec-, tions. These products will be used as stock for the Continuous Merchant Mill and the Sleeper Plant of the steelworks, or will be available as billets for sale to the re-rolling and forging industries.

The capacity of the Mill averages an initial output of at least 12,000 tons for a six-day week operating on a two-shift basis. This high production unit, utilising the latest mechanical aids, is capable of sustained output with very little demand on skilled manpower.

The Billet Mill has been built to Morgan design by Davy and United Engineering Co. Ltd., a Member Company of ISCON—the British consortium constructing the steelworks at Durgapur.

#### UK WOOL TRADE WITH THE EAST

In May UK exports of wool tops to China amounted to nearly 1.8 million lb as against less than 0.8 million lb in May 1959, and the total exports of UK wool tops exports to China reached 4.9 million lb valued at £2.1 million during the first five months of 1960 as against 2.1 million lb valued at £0.6 million during the corresponding period of 1959.

The exports of wool tops to other main Asian markets developed as follows:

			1959	1960
			first five	months
India			2.0	2.0
Pakistan		***	0.3	0.3
Hong Kon	g	***	0.1	0.3
Japan		***	1.3	0.9
		(all fig	gures in £ r	nillion)

In addition UK exports of raw wool to Japan amounted to the value of £0.3 million during the first five months of 1960.

UK imports of raw wool during the first five months of 1960 amounted to 3246 million be valued at £70.2 million. A comparison with the corresponding period of last year shows that the volume of the

imports has decreased (1959, 357 million lb), but that due to increased prices the value as increased (1959, £67 million).

The imports from the Pacific and Asian countries developed as follows:

				1959 first five	1960 months
Australia		'		30.3	29.4
New Zea	aland		***	15.6	19.6
India			400	1:3	1.3
Pakistan				0.6	1.4
China			***	0.1	0.2
			(all fig	ures in £ 1	nillion)

The total imports of wool and other animal hair from China amounted to the value of £798,620 during the first five months of 1960.

#### KLOPP-WERKE EXHIBIT IN LONDON

Fully hydraulic high-speed shaping machines built by the West German manufacturers Klopp-Werke of Solingen-Wald, were on view at the stand of the Factored Machine Division of Wickman Ltd., Coventry, at the International Tool Exhibition, London. Klopp shaping machines have been supplied to various countries, and the exhibits included the 650-H type of 26 in. stroke and the 850-H type of 334 in. stroke.

#### WOTAN-WERKE EXPORT TO ASIA

The West German manufacturers Wotan-Werke of Düsseldorf which export their machines to Japan and India, recently secured an order from Japan for their horizontal boring and milling machine, Type B 130 S. This machine which is particularly suitable for machining of workpieces which require long milling traverses, and for bores with widely spaced horizontal centre distances, was exhibited at the International Machine Tool Exhibition, London (Stand: SOAG Machine Tools Ltd., London). Another machine displayed by Wotan-Werke was their Internal Hydraulic Grinding Machine with automatic trip stop control, used for miscellaneous work and small batch production.

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#### 10,000-MILE ASIAN-EUROPE HIGHWAY

Further progress on the project for building a ten-thousandmile-long highway—possibly the longest in the world—linking Saigon in South Vietnam with London via Karachi was made at the ECAFE seminar on Highways recently held in Karachi. The route follows the ancient caravan routes traversed by Alexander, Marco Polo, Chengis Khan.

ECAFE has undertaken to link these roads so that they become a single arterial highway across Asia and Western Europe, with uniform milestones, road signs and signals. The study group is also working on the traffic laws and regulations which should govern traffic on this international highway. Participants in the seminar were Pakistan, Indian, Iran and ECAFE experts. Their discussions covered that part of the proposed highway which runs through their respective countries, similar regional talks are being held in other parts of the ECAFE region.

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#### IFC INVESTMENT IN INDIA

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) recently announced an investment of \$1,365,000 (Rs. 65 lakhs equivalent) in Assam Sillimanite Ltd., an Indian company, for expansion of operations to manufacture high-grade refractory bricks and shapes.

Assam Sillimanite, incorporated in 1951, has been engaged in mining and processing for export sillimanite, magnesite and kyanite—minerals used in high-temperature furnaces employed by the steel, glass and ceramics industries. The company works valuable deposits of some of these

minerals in India.

The IFC investment will help finance a plant designed to produce 46,000 tons annually of refractory materials. India imported more than 120,000 tons of refractories in 1957. Production by the new plant will fill some of the basic needs of India's growing industries for high-temperature furnace materials. All raw materials are locally available. It is estimated that the first two years of full operation will provide net annual foreign exchange savings to India equal to IFC's dollar investment.

The plant site is located at Ramgarh in Bihar State about 250 miles north-west of

Calcutta.

#### **UK PLANING MACHINE FOR CHINA**

An order for a planing machine (8ft, x 8ft, x 30ft.) for delivery to China before the end of this year has recently been secured by the Scottish Machine Tool Corporation. Planers are also being supplied to Japan, and in cooperation with Indian private sector interests, such machines are to be manufactured in India.

#### UK LOANS TO INDIA

The UK Government has offered a loan of £10 million to the Government of India to enable it to make payment for a large range of her imports from Britain. The loan has been offered in response to an approach by the Government of India for early assistance in meeting India's foreign exchange requirements for 1960-61, the final year of the Second Five-Year Plan.

In addition the UK Government will later join, to assist in meeting India's needs during the current year, a consortium which consists of the US, Canada, West Germany, and Japan. This consortium met under the aegis of the International Bank to concert assistance to India in August 1958 and March 1959. Following the meeting in 1958 the UK Government made a loan of £28'5 million (in addition to accelerating pensions repayments of £10 million) and following the meeting in 1959, a loan of £19 million to India.

Furthermore, in 1958 the UK Government provided a loan of £15 million to-

wards the construction of the Durgapur steel works, and in 1959 a loan of £3 million towards the construction of an oil pipeline in Assam (both these Government loans were made in supplementation of private finance from Britain for these projects).

Thus from 1958, and including the new loan of £10 million now announced, the UK Government has provided loans to the Government of India totalling £75.5

million.

#### DIA ELEKTROTECHNIK AND ASIAN MARKETS

Herr Kurt Bathel, Director-General of DIA Elektrotechnik (the East German foreign trade company of the electrical industry) told Eastern World that China was the Company's biggest market in Asia, and that extensive exports were carried out to North Korea and North Vietnam. The trade with India and some other Asian countries was developing and Herr Barthel emphasised his interest in fostering exports to these markets.

DIA Elektrotechnik had a very big stand at the recent international biennial Instruments — Electronics — Exhibition in London which was visited by many Asian and Far Eastern scientists, technologists

and buyers.

Among the exhibits at the DIA Elektrotechnik Stand were the Duplomastron Ion Source, the new luminous curve recorder for continuous recording of electrical currents and voltages, a range of oscilloscopes and oscillographs, including the "Twin Beam" Oscilloscope EO2/130 which was shown for the first time at the Leipzig Spring Fair, 1960. The Beat Frequency Oscillator—SS U2—is used for the testing of low frequency amplifiers, loudspeakers, filters, tape recorders, etc.

filters, tape recorders, etc.

Among the Mark Generators which were on view, it was stressed that the Mark Generator MS-105 with its special Phase characteristics provided the basis of a whole new set of possibilities in the measurement field relating to Radar, Television, Radio-Navigation, high speed switching, radio astronomy, physics, computors and electronic counters. The Counter-Chronometer 3006 which was on view has particular applications in pulse techniques, low frequency as well as time duration measurement and in control techniques. This instrument has a high accuracy which is not affected by its simplicity and speed of operation.

#### INDIA—HUNGARY LONG-TERM AGREEMENT

Hungary has signed a new, long-term trade agreement with India covering the period July 1, 1960, to December 31, 1963, as a result of discussions which began in New Delhi on June 9.

Under the agreement Hungary will export to India machines, power generating

installations for local industry, machine tools, instruments, radio parts and photographic materials.

India will supply Hungary with tea, coffee, vegetable oils, tobacco, iron ore, hides, cotton and woollen goods, as well as textile machines and railway installations.

Transactions between the two countries are to be settled in non-exchangeable

Indian rupees.

#### PAKISTAN'S JUTE TRADE

Pakistan produced 6,000,854 bales of jute (bales 400 lbs. each) during the year July 1958 to June 1959, as compared to 5,700,715 during the preceding year. The area actually cropped in 1958-59 was 1,528,350 acres, as against 1,562,619 in 1957-58.

During the year under review the existing jute mills turned out 203,447 tons of jute goods, as against 157,860 tons in 1957-58. During 1958-59 jute mills consumed 1,209,000 bales of raw jute as compared to 90,041,000 bales consumed in 1957-58.

Pakistan's jute industry, which consisted of 8,500 looms and 128,620 spindles, ranked third in the world; India and Germany leading with 65,102 looms and 199,528 spindles and 9,600 looms and

260,600 spindles respectively.

The total value of the export of raw jute (including cuttings) during 1958-59 amounted to Rs. 654,842,000, as against Rs. 750,000,000 during the preceding year. The earnings were derived from export of 4,080,820 bales of jute in 1958-59 and 4,573,000 bales in 1957-58.

Of these exports, India imported 175,000 bales of jute valued Rs. 13,411,000 in 1958-59, as against 637,000 bales of jute

valued Rs. 55,600,000 in 1957-58.

### INDONESIAN—JAPANESE OIL AGREEMENT

The Indonesian—Japanese cooperation agreement on oil development in Indonesia stipulates that Japan will provide credits and technical aid to the value of several million yen over a period of ten years to the Permina national oil company for drilling and exploiting new wells in North Sumatra. Indonesia will partially redeem the credits in the form of oil derived from the well.

#### INDONESIAN—MEXICAN TRADE DISCUSSIONS

In talks held recently in Djakarta between the Indonesian Government and a Mexican trade mission, both countries agreed to extend the scope of their trade relations. The leader of the mission afterwards told reporters that in 1960-61 Mexico planned to increase her annual rubber imports from Indonesia from 30,000 to 50,000 tons.

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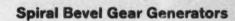
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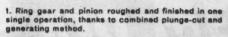
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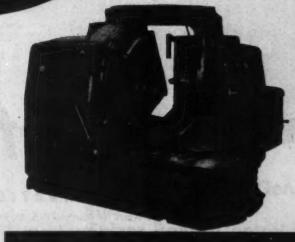
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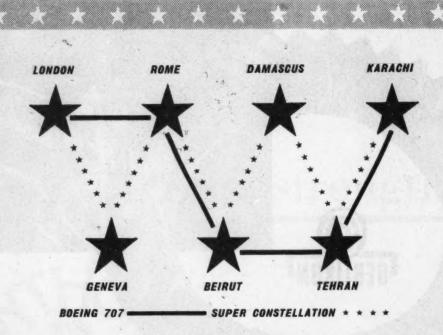


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44,00 m

35,00 m

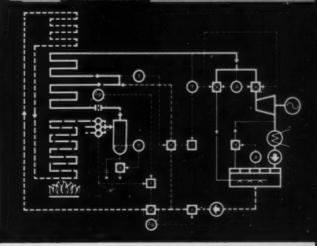
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## Once a holy offering - today a vital food

In India sugar cane was at one time a holy offering.
Later sugar was considered to have a magic healing power. Today, of course, it is an indispensable food in all parts of the world.

At present world production of cane sugar is 23 million tons a year. More than 60% comes from Central and South America. Over-all production has increased 25 times in the last 100 years. Consumption per head has expanded at about the same pace.

Nitrogen is the growth-promoting food for sugar cane, as for all other plants. Experiments carried out in many of the world's sugar-growing areas have shown that intensified nitrogen fertilization brings substantial increases in sugar cane yields. Java, the West Indies, Hawaii, South Africa, the United States and India are among the areas in which this has been demonstrated. In short, the intensified use of nitrogen fertilizers will ensure improved sugar cane yields wherever sugar cane is grown.

Nitrogen from Germany primarily comes from the Ruhr area: from RUHR-STICKSTOFF AG at Bochum. This firm is the nitrogen sales organization of 8 factories producing synthetic nitrogen fertilizers and of a great number of coking plants. RUHR-STICKSTOFF is one of the world's largest nitrogen exporters. Its products help to achieve more and better crops in more than 90 countries.



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